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ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY  
OF BALŪCHISTĀN.

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DENYS BRAY, I.C.S.

VOLUME I.

MARĪ BALŌCH.  
KHETRĀN BALŌCH.  
MANDŌKHĒL PATHĀNS.  
DUMAR PATHĀNS.

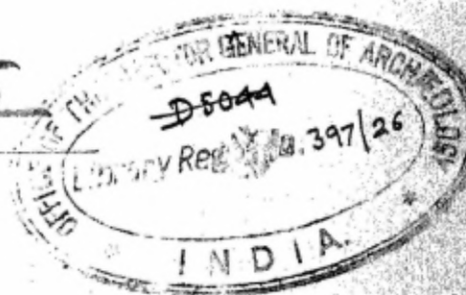
JATT.  
LŌRĪ.  
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## PREFACE.

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THESE monographs, which were put together in the course of the last Baluchistān Census chiefly with the object of furnishing material for my report, are very much in the rough. But though I have not found time to check them as thoroughly as I should have liked—my departure on leave has even prevented me from seeing them through the press—I have decided to publish them not merely because they seem to contain a certain amount of useful matter, but because they will serve as a beginning to the belated ethnographic survey of Baluchistān.

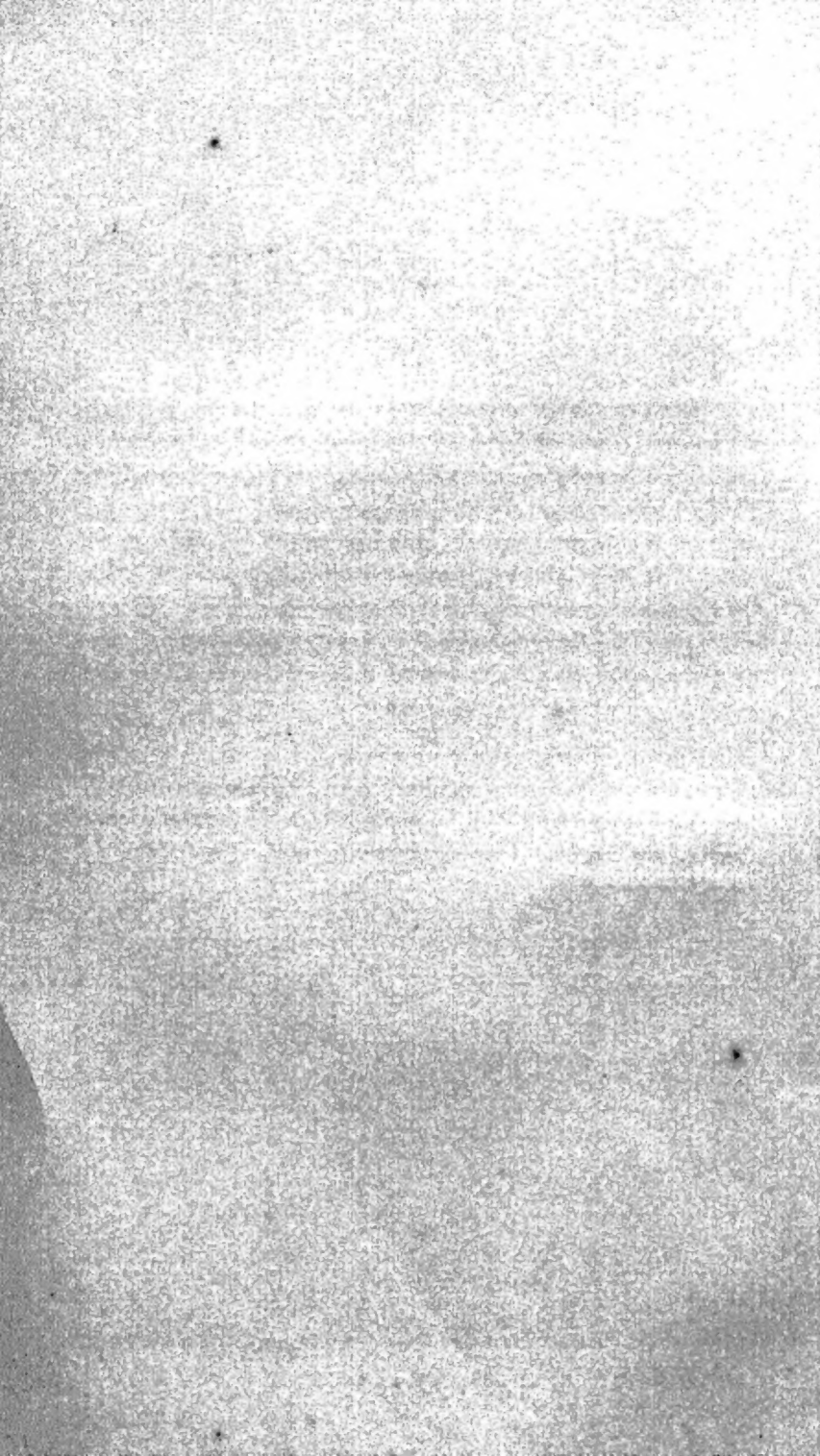
To my mind the most valuable paper in the series is the article on the domiciled Hindus which Rāi Bahādur Diwān Jamiat Rāi has very kindly placed at my disposal, thereby putting the finishing touch to his invaluable co-operation in my researches.

DENYS BRAY.

*April 24, 1913.*









# ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY

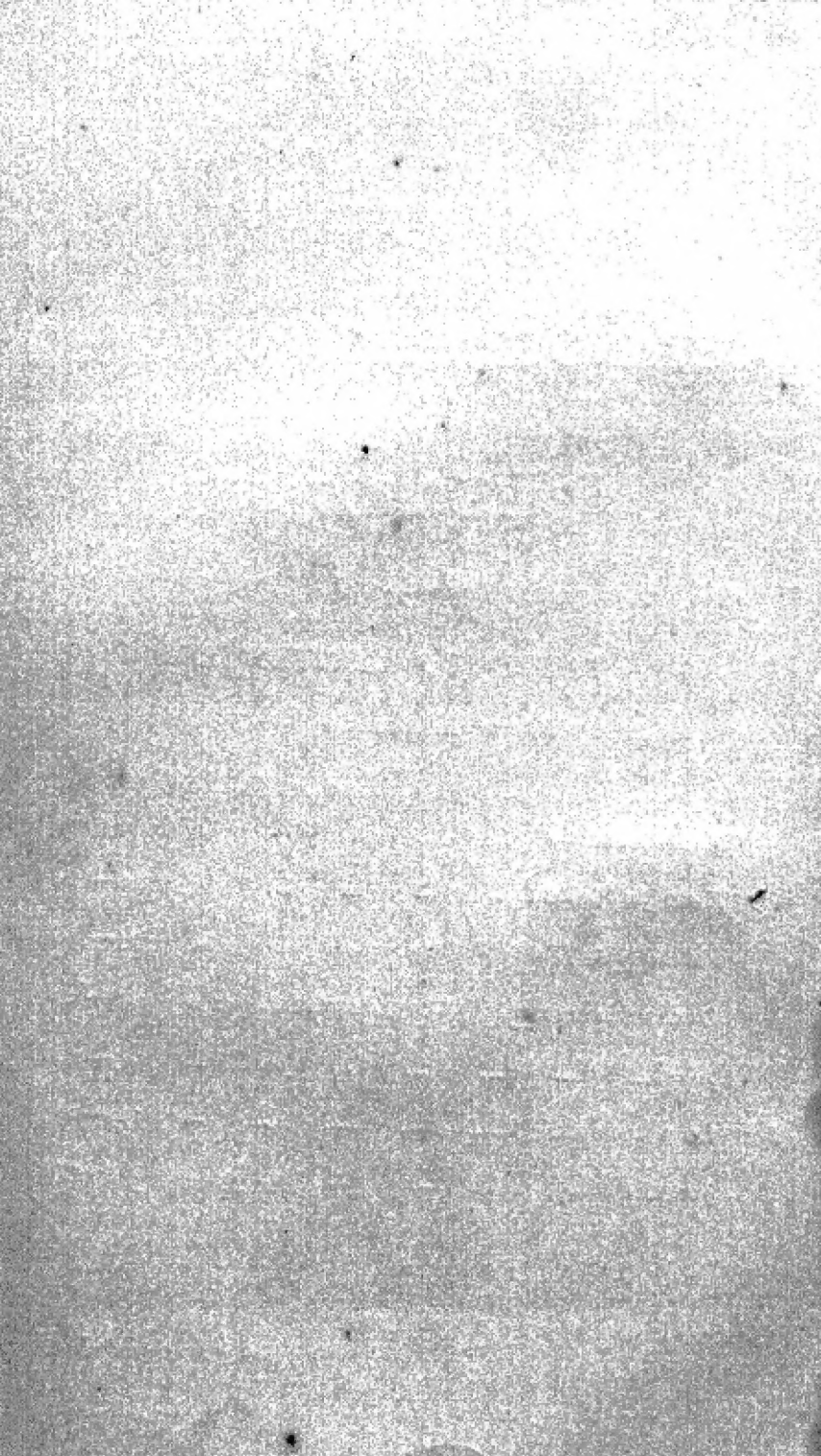
OF

## BALŪCHISTĀN.

VOL I.

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## THE MARĪ BALŪCH.

(Edited from material compiled for the most part by  
Rai Bahādur Diwān Jamiat Rai, C.I.E.)

### I.—Tribal History, Constitution, etc.

1. The headquarters of the Marī *tuman* or tribe, which is  
Locality. under the political control of the  
Political Agent, Sibi, is at Kahān  
in the heart of what is known as the Marī country. Here  
the *tumandār* or chief has his residence.

2. The word 'Marī' is said to mean 'fighter,'—no  
Meaning of the name. bad name for a tribe with such  
marauding traditions. But their  
enemies will have it that the word is a corruption of *marēta*  
'slave,' insinuating that the true origin of the tribe is palp-  
able enough. This unpleasant insinuation has probably had  
something to do with their recent lucky discovery of a place  
somewhere in Persian Balūchistān called Dasht-i-Marī, from  
which the tribe now wish to trace its origin.

3. Though the tribe seems to have escaped nicknames  
from their neighbours, the tribes-  
Nickname (*Phullēn Marī*). men call themselves *phullēn*  
*Marī*. They have a chivalrous derivation to offer for this  
constant epithet. It so fell out that Mir Chākar, the far-  
famed Rind Chief, took several women of the Lashārī Balūch  
captive, and set the Marīs, Bugṭīs, Dōmbkīs and Kahērīs in  
turn to keep watch and ward over them in the night. Every  
morning he would question the women concerning the  
conduct of their guards towards them, and when it came to  
the turn of the Marīs, so irreproachable was their bearing,  
that the women exclaimed with one voice: "They're *phullēn*  
*Marī*—Marīs pure as flowers!"

4. At the Census of 1911 the strength of the tribe was  
Strength. returned as 22,233. Of this  
number 13,202 were found in the



Marī country, the remainder being scattered over the Sibī district (6,431), the Lōralai district (1,796), the Kalāt State (421), the Las Bēla State (339), the Quetta-Pishin district (26) and the Bōlān (18). Several of these, however, have probably by now severed all connection with the main tribe.

5. The Maris like other Balōch hark back to Jalāl Khān, the fabled hero of the race in the old days when it was still in

Origin of the tribe.

Aleppo. But they are a medley of peoples as may be guessed from the fact that the name of the tribe is not derived from some eponymous hero. The main clans are the Gazēni, the Bijārāni, the Lōhārāni and the Shirāni. The first three trace descent to three ancestors, Gazēn, Bijār and Lōhār, the Shirāni being frankly of Pathān extraction. Of these Gazēn was a Bulēdi, Bijār was a Rind, and Lōhār a *lōhār* (or blacksmith). The Maris apparently began to assume shape as an organised tribe about the middle of the 16th century in the days of Mir Chākar, the great Rind hero of Balōchi ballads. But from the first the tribe opened its ranks to alien races, and many of the sub-sections became Balōch by the simple process of becoming Maris. Even descendants of slaves are included (cf. § 8).

6. The *tuman* is divided into *fakar* or clans; each *fakar* is divided in several *phalli* or

Subdivisions.

sections, and these in turn are

composed of smaller sub-sections called *pārō*.

At the last Census the strength of the various clans and sections was given as follows:—

I	BIJARANI	5,768
	Chāndia	34
	Kaisrāni	145
	Kalandrāni	865
	Khalwāni	772
	Kungrāni	978
	Pawādhi	346
	Pirdādāni	260

Rahmkānī	765
Salārānī	517
Shahēja	872
Sūmrānī	213
Unspecified	1

## II GAZENI 9,539

Alīānī	854
Badānī	615
Bahāwalānzai	129
Chhalgarī	449
Chūrī	293
Halēlānī	56
Isfānī	330
Jalwānī	35
Jarwār	431
Kahūr Khānzai	104
Lānghānī	1,399
Lōrikush	388
Mahandānī	543
Mahkānī	550
Mazarānī	933
Murgīānī	373
Nōzbandgānī	247
Samiwānī	146
Tingīānī	1,493
Zhīng	171

## III LOHARĀNĪ 3,666

Gwasrānī	827
Jalambānī	369
Kanōrānī	382
Muhammadānī	1,491
Muridānī	61
Muridzai	32
Shabhwānī	1
Sōmrānī	503

IV	SHIRĀNĪ	3,206
	Durkānī	347
	Gazīzai	6
	Jandwānī	1,235
	Milōhar	798
	Sārangānī	817
	Unspecified	3
V	UNSPECIFIED	190

7. At the head of the tribe is the *tumandār* or chief; at the head of each *ṭakar* or clan Tribal officers. is a *waḡērā* or elder and also a *mukaddam* or headman, while each *phall* or section and lower down still each *pār* or sub-section has its *matbar* or spokesman. The offices of *tumandār* and *waḡērā* are hereditary. Those of *mukaddam* and *matbar* are ordinarily confined not to a single family but to particular sections in the tribe. There is yet another tribal officer, the *rāhsan*, the war-leader of the tribe, who ranks below none save the *tumandār* himself.

8. Though the chiefship is now hereditary in the chief's family, its career has been The *tumandār*. chequered. When Bijār and Ālī and Lohār first came to the country, Bijār, we are told, was the leader of the three. On his death about the middle of the 16th century, the leadership was sold by his grandson to Wazīr, an Ālīnī Rind. Wazīr on his death-bed passed over his own sons in favour of the sons of Ālī's daughter, who had married Gazēn, one of four brothers who headed the great Bulādī tribe of Sind. The tribesmen did not find Gazēn's eldest son to their liking, so offered the chiefship to Sahtak, his younger brother. He first declined the offer, much to the disgust of his more ambitious wife. So she got some children to go and play where he lay asleep, and



bawl in his ear: 'Sahtak, the Mari, won't go with his brothers, and won't be their chief. So we'll pull out his beard, and make a dove of him.' Stung by the taunt, Sahtak accepted the chiefship, but not until the Maris had agreed to his conditions—which were these:—

(1) That his kinsmen Nōd and Isaf, his sister Marghō, his bondsman Zhingō and his bondswoman Samī should be married into Mari families. Hence the Nōzbandgāni, Isfāni, Murgīāni, Samwāni and Zhing sections.

(2) That should any member of his house be taken in adultery with a Mari woman, he should only have to pay a cash compensation of Rs. 60. The compensation was later raised to Rs. 300 and now stands at Rs. 500.

(3) That should a Mari, on the other hand, be taken in adultery with the lawful wife (not a bondswoman) of any member of his house, he should pay according to the custom of the country the full compensation of a maiden, arms and cash.

(4) That he and his house whenever they went abroad as guests should take a sheep as entertainment from any Mari without payment.

(5) That the chief should receive yearly from each flock a sheep or goat, neither too young nor too old, nor yet blind. This is called his *dan*. It later became the custom for the chief to take one beast from each flock of 40 and upwards which was in the separate charge of a shepherd; but according to a recent report the practice of *dan* is either dead or dying.<sup>(1)</sup>

There was another break in the hereditary principle as recently as the end of the 18th century, when Halēl, hard pressed by the Khān of Kalāt for compensation for a raid by his tribesmen, sold the chiefship to Mubarak Khān who handed it over to his father Bahawalān. Under Bahawalān the power of the tribe came to its height and it is from him that the Bahāwalanzai, the chief's section, takes its name.

(1) Under a special arrangement the Maris paid this *dan* in full during 1912-13 to help the Chief out of his financial difficulties.

The list of *tumandārs*.

sent Nawāb :

Bijār  
(died circa 1550).  
|  
Wazīr, Ālīnī Rind  
(by purchase)

(Ālī)  
|  
daughter

9. This is the list of the *tumandārs* from Bijār to the pre-

(Gazēn)  
(Bulādi)  
married Ālī's daughter

|  
Sahīak  
|  
Nāsar  
|  
Mānak  
|  
Gazēn  
|  
Nāsar Khān  
|  
Dūrī Khān  
|  
Gazēn  
|  
Mubārak Khān  
|  
Dōst Ālī  
|  
Halāl (sold his Sardārī right to  
Bahāwalān in his life time).  
|  
Bahāwalān (died about 1805).  
|  
Mubārak Khān  
|  
Dōdā  
|  
Dīn Muhammad  
|  
Nūr Muhammad  
|  
Gazēn Khān (died in 1876)  
|  
Māhrullā Khān (died on 15th  
March 1902).  
|  
Nawāb Khair Balhsh Khān (pre-  
sent chief).

10. The *tumandār* is the head of the tribe. As the whole

Powers, duties and privi-  
leges of the *tumandār*.

Bahāwalānzai section to which he belongs is sacrosanct (§ 38), the *tumandār* is hedged round with divinity, and an oath by his head or beard is the most binding of all oaths in the tribe. He settles disputes, metes out punishments of fine and imprisonment, and is

the final court of appeal in the tribe (§ 11). But, though his word is law, he is not an arbitrary despot, but a patriarchal ruler, the mouth-piece and guardian of the tribal law, and his powers are usually exercised in consultation with his Council of Elders. Upon him fall the entertainment and shelter of guests and strangers. In addition to his ordinary share in the tribal land, he has a special *sardārē bakhsh* or chief's share in the centre. He receives (or used until lately to receive) one sheep or goat from every separate flock of 40 as *dan* (§ 8). He also receives *phōrī* on the marriage of a kinsman or a death in the family. In the case of a marriage each tribesman gives a sheep; in the case of the death of a male, the *mālbar* collects a rupee from each tribesman of his section, and eight annas in the case of the death of a female, but pays over the amount to the *tumandār* in sheep or goats. The Hindūs have to provide salt and tobacco on the marriage of a male member of the *tumandār's* family (receiving sheep in return) to furnish a marriage feast. The heir-apparent is his eldest son. On succession he is entitled to an extra share in the patrimony. Thus, if a *tumandār* dies leaving three sons, his property is divided into four shares, and two shares go to the eldest son, in addition to the *sardārē bakhsh* which remains undivided and passes on intact from one *tumandār* to another. On succession it is usual for the new *tumandār* to make a public pronouncement of new custom, which has been decided upon beforehand by the Council. Thus, on *Khair Bakhsh's* succession three new customs were announced:—

- (1) that no Marī girl should be allowed to marry a freedman;
- (2) that the compensation to the husband for a wife killed for adultery, which used to stand at Rs. 300, should be increased to Rs. 500, together with a maiden, a sword and a gun; and
- (3) that the compensation for abduction should be Rs. 2,000, two maidens, two swords and two guns.

11. The final court is the *tumandār*, who settles all cases

The *tumandār's* tribunal. not susceptible of settlement by the clan or section officers. In his

hands lay powers of life and death, but these have now been taken over by Government. In cases of injuries, such as maiming, he appoints two arbitrators—men who do not belong to the sections of the parties concerned—to fix the compensation according to custom and the merits of the case. Cases of arson are decided by him with the help of a *jirga*, and fines are inflicted and compensation awarded. Cases of trespass are disposed of by a small fine. In cases of theft, the complainant has usually to pay clue-money, and on the clues thus obtained the Chief exacts four times the amount stolen from the thief. If no proof is forthcoming, recourse is had to a trial by ordeal. (§ 44-49).

12. In these peaceful days the *rāhsan*, or highway

The *rāhsan*. robber, is little more than a man with an honorary and honoured

title, ranking in virtue of his high but leisured office next to the *tumandār* himself. But in the old days of tribal warfare, he was the war-chief, who led the tribe forth on the war-path, or organised it for defence against attack, and was vested with powers to punish with death any that turned their back in the day of battle. He was allotted a special share in the plunder (§ 23) and incurred no liability to blood feud or payment of compensation—privileges which he still enjoys. Originally devised no doubt to counteract an inevitable failure of the hereditary principle in the chiefship when tried in the fire of warfare, the office in these days of peace has a tendency to succumb to the hereditary principle itself. Though still in the gift of the Chief to be bestowed on a warrior of proved valour, it has become more or less confined to a particular family. On the death of the late *rāhsan*, Mir Hazār, Nōzbandgāni, the title was conferred on his second son, Khair Muhammad.

13. Just as there is an hereditary *tumandār* at the head of the whole tribe, so there is an hereditary *waḍērā* at the head of each *ṣakar* or clan. But even in the clan it was found necessary to bolster up the hereditary principle by giving the *waḍērā* the assistance of a *mukaddam* or executive officer, who holds his office not by hereditary right, but by selection, though he is usually taken from some particular section. He is the working man of the clan under the guidance of the *waḍērā*. Together they regulate the internal affairs of the clan, settling disputes within it, and referring to the *tumandār* disputes which do not admit of their orders, notably those in which another clan is concerned. The *mukaddam*, like the *waḍērā*, has a place in the council, and especially the war-council, of the Chief. He collected the fighting men of his clan when war was in the air, and commanded them in the field under the supreme control of the *rāhsan*. He was allotted a special share in the plunder, known as *gul* (§ 23).

14. But the *waḍērā* and *mukaddam* do not work direct with the tribesmen, but through the *mōṭbars*, the heads of the various sections and sub-sections. Each *mōṭbar* is responsible for the behaviour of his *phallā* or *pārō*. If he cannot settle disputes on his own authority, it is for him to submit them through the *mukaddam* for the *waḍērā*'s orders. He is the mouth-piece of the *mukaddam* and *waḍērā* among the tribesmen under him and is responsible for the execution of their instructions. Thus, if a fine is imposed on the tribe, he is responsible for the collection of the share payable by his section or sub-section and its delivery to the *waḍērā*.

15. As the heterogeneous composition of the different sections of the tribe implies, admission to the tribe is beset with no very great difficulties, even in these peaceful days when numbers are not so essential an element in tribal

strength as in the old days of tribal warfare. A new-comer is treated for a while as a *ham-sāya*. But his presence is so welcome, his status so honourable that he may even take a woman of the tribe to wife. As soon as he has finally made up his mind to share in the good and ill of the tribe, he is granted admission. Scant ceremony marks his initiation. The *waderā* of the particular clan that is to receive him simply assembles with the elders, offers up the usual prayer, and the erstwhile *ham-sāya* is now a fully fledged Mari, entitled like any other tribesman in the clan to his share of land at the next periodical division.

16. In the old days of tribal warfare every male in the tribe who were breeches (§ 96)

The tribe under arms, held himself in readiness to obey his *mukaddam's* call to arms. If a raid on a neighbouring tribe was contemplated, or a counter-raid had to be warded off, the *tumandār* summoned the *mukaddam* to a council of war, and discussed the plan of campaign. It might be that war was first mooted by one of the sections. In such a case the *mukaddam* would lay the proposal before the *tumandār*, and the *tumandār* would sound the *mukaddams* of the other sections on the subject, and the will of the majority would carry the day. Or the various *mukaddams* might even take counsel amongst themselves, and not broach the matter to the *tumandār* until the raid was actually organized.

17. Though the *tumandār* or some other Bahāwalānzai usually took the field, the tribal

The war-leader, *lashkar* was under the supreme command of the *rāhean* or war-leader (§ 12), each *mukaddam* heading the fighting men of his own particular section.

18. When the *mukaddams* had called out their men, and

*Chāri.* the *lashkar* had assembled at the appointed place, a few picked men were sent out as *chāri* or scouts to spy out the dispositions of the foe and the numbers of their cattle, and generally reconnoitre the ground. Meanwhile the *lashkar* halted,



each man tethering his horse and baking his *kāk* (§ 78). The news the *chārī* brought back determined the plan of action. If they found that a surprise could be effected, the orders would be for a *pāsārā* or raid. But if they found the enemy forewarned, they settled down for a *maidān* or fight in the open.

19. A typical raid would be brought off in this wise.

*Pāsārā.*

On return of the scouts, the *lashkar* would move forward under cover of the night, until they had gathered as close as they dared to their quarry. Then came a halt (*tamb*), the men resting in grim silence, while whispered orders were passed round where they should meet on the morrow with the spoil. The blow would be struck at early dawn, the horsemen leading the onrush, the footmen supporting them in the rear.

20. If a *pāsārā* was found to be out of the question, they made ready to meet an attack.

*Maidān.*

Men were posted round the camp throughout the night, each man taking his turn on the watch. If an attack was made in force, they would endeavour to ensconce themselves in crevices on the hillside, and rolled boulders down on their enemies as they approached. But, as a rule, they issued forth into the open the moment they were attacked, shouting "*O! O! O! shabash!*" They usually joined battle in three divisions according to the three main clans—the Loharānī and Shirānī acting for this purpose together as one. In a *maidān* the whole *lashkar* fought on foot, some of the men being told off as *pāndī* or 'weak-hearted' to look after the horses.

21. Their weapons consisted of matchlocks, pistols

*Weapons.*

(*druhānī*), swords, knives and shields, with a bag (*kisag*) containing the gunpowder. So long as the foe was at a distance, they discharged their matchlocks, but the fighting



soon became hand-to-hand, with sword and shield. The shields were light and handy. The weapons were either made by the tribesmen themselves or were spoils taken from the enemy. They were among a man's most cherished possessions and were handed down as heirlooms from father to son.

22. The persons of women, unbreeched boys and Hindus were spared, though they were  
 Courtesies of tribal warfare. despoiled of their ornaments and other possessions.

23. Set rules governed the divisions of the spoil (*phula bahārag*). First came the *tumandar's* share, the *panjuh* or nominally one-fifth; then the share of the leader of the *lashkar*, the share that is of the *tumandar*, if he himself took the field, or of the Bahāwalānzai whom he sent out to represent him; then the *gul*—the *rāhsan's* share, and the share of the *mukaddam*, which generally consisted of an extra cow, sheep or goat. The remainder, after compensation was set aside for the killed and wounded, was divided up among the *lashkar*. Each *chāri* and each horseman got two shares (*rās*), and each footman one, while every man who carried a gun got an extra half share into the bargain.

24. A raid inevitably gave rise to a counter-raid and ended naturally in a regular  
 Trace. intertribal feud. A settlement was usually effected by swearing a truce on a Koran placed between the two hosts. Thereafter, if one or other wished to break the truce, a formal declaration of war had to be made.

25. Not counting the Hindus there are four classes of subject peoples, the Jatts, Jats, serfs and freedmen. The Jatts  
 Jatt and Jat. are settlers from Sind, and work as cultivators. The Jats

are camel-men. They generally carry a *lath* or big stick, which has come to be regarded as their distinctive mark. Both Jatt and Jat share in the good or ill of the particular section to which they are attached and for which they work, but they are not affiliated into the tribe. At the periodical division, it is true, they are nominally allotted holdings, but the land simply goes to swell their employer's farm (§ 62).

26. The serfs (known locally as *marefa*) are probably for the most part descendants of Serfs. captives taken in war from the time of Mīr Chākar onwards, and have long lost all key to their original races. In more recent times their numbers have been increased by Hazāras. They are ordinarily domestic servants, but must be ready to turn their hand to anything according to the pleasure of the master of the house, who has them under his absolute dominion. They marry among themselves according to the ordinary *nikāh* ritual. In olden days serfs were only allowed to carry an axe in peace-time, though in war-time they were under arms and took their place in the ranks. This restriction was removed by Bahāwalān Khān, in recognition of the valour displayed by a couple of serfs who rescued his son when attacked out hunting.

27. With what he earns in his spare time or by serving another household with his Freedmen. master's consent, a serf may win the status of a freedman, free to engage in any occupation he likes. This status is not infrequently bestowed on him by his master in the event of a serious illness in the family or at the Id or the *Dwardamī Rōch* as a *hairāt* or religious offering. Freedmen intermarry among themselves, the children taking the status of their parents, though still called *marefa*. Up to the time of Mēhrulla Khān, even a serf could marry a Marī girl. But on the day Khair Bakīsh succeeded to

the Chiefship, he ruled, with the consent of the tribal council, that neither serf nor freedman should henceforth marry into the tribe (§ 10). The penalty for the infringement of this rule is the cancellation of the betrothal and even of the marriage, a fine of Rs. 200 on the parents of the girl and of Rs. 100 on the would-be husband.

28. Hindus are found in the village of Kahān only. They

Hindus.                      came originally from Sind. They  
are the traders and shopkeepers

of the tribe. Their beard is trimmed, and their dress, consisting as it does of a red cap, a shirt and a loin cloth, is also distinctive. While they pay nothing for the privilege of living in the tribal limits, they are expected to make certain presents to the Bahāwalānzai on various high occasions. Thus they supply tobacco and salt on the marriage of a male member in the Chief's family (§ 10), while on the occasion of a marriage among themselves the bridegroom's party sends out cooked food to all Bahāwalānzai families and pays Rs. 12 in cash to the *tumandār*, this payment being known as *shajhri*. They have deviated from Hindu orthodoxy in several ways. They will drink water out of a *khali* or skin, and that though it has been filled by a Muhammadan. They eat meat, but neither eggs nor fowls. They countenance widow-remarriage, especially with the deceased husband's brother. At deaths they slaughter sheep like the Maris (§ 113) and distribute the meat among the poor, sending a portion to the Bahāwalānzai. They have as much faith in Bahāwalān and Gazēn as the Maris themselves, and make offerings at their shrines for various objects. In the old days they were sometimes employed as *chāri* or scouts (§ 18). They do not take part in tribal feuds, though the section with which they live will espouse their cause, and exact compensation for the heirs of one who has been murdered. Thus, when a Hindu was murdered a few years ago by a Shirāni, six hundred rupees was paid over to his heirs as blood-money.

29. There is no regular artisan class in the tribe.

Artisans.

Most families can make felt, ropes and mats for their requirements. Felt is made of sheep's wool (§ 59). Ropes and mats are made out of the leaves of the dwarf palm (*pish*). They beat the green leaves with a stone, and twist them into ropes; and they cut the leaves with a knife or sickle and weave them into mats. There are about half-a-dozen blacksmiths in the tribe who turn out the farm instruments. Their chief tools are *wadān* (hammer), *sōhān* (file), *kāf* (iron cutter), *ambār* (pincers), *sandān* (anvil), *barma* (auger). There is no objection to any Marī, except a Bahāwalānzai, engaging in any of these pursuits.

## II.—Language.

30. The language is Balōchī. Though there is no written literature, the language is rich in war-songs and ballads

Language.

which have been handed down from generation. Many of the tribesmen speak Pashtō also; and Urdu, being the language of the officials, is beginning to make some headway. The Hindus, Jats and Jatīs living in the tribal area are almost all bi-lingual, speaking Balōchī in the tribe, and Sindhi, Jatki and Jatki or Jadgālī among themselves.

## III.—Religion.

31. The Marīs are Sunnī Muhammadans, but hardly strict adherents of their sect.

Sect.

During the last few years there has been something of the nature of a religious revival—more especially in the Bijārānī clan owing to the missions of Maulvi Abdul Haiyī of Dhāḍar. Under his spiritual influence they are becoming more regular in prayers, fasts and alms (*sakāt*), and have even begun to read the Koran, and, what is still more remarkable, to trim their long hair and even beards, while the women seem to be taking to wearing veils (*nigāb*). The two villages recently built in

Dhil and Swēth contain *masjids* where the Maulvi's disciples (*tehrā*) continue the good work he began. But a reaction seems to have set in already.

32. The mullas are Maris by tribe. They conduct prayers, celebrate marriage, burial  
 Mullas. and other domestic ceremonies,

and are the teachers of the young. They have no voice in the tribal council, and no weight in political affairs. At each harvest two *ṣūpās* or six seers of grain for each plough are given them by the cultivators. This is called *rasūl wāṭi*. No fixed share of the flocks is allotted to them, nor is the *sakāt* or 1/40 binding.

33. There are three families of Bukhārī Sayyids living among the Maris. As descendants of the Prophet they com-  
 Sayyids.

and great respect, and do not condescend to give their daughters in marriage to the Maris. The *samindārs* give a Sayyid a *kāsa* of grain every harvest for each plough, and as many sheaves as a man can carry.

34. Miraculous are the powers they are supposed to possess. The following extracts  
 Their powers to ward off bullets. taken from an old diary are of interest in this connection :—

"*July 3rd, 1840.*—Shēr Bēg Bugṭī tells us that it is the Marī's intention to attack the Kahān fort on the night of the 6th instant, when the moon goes down, with fifty scaling ladders, their Sayyid having persuaded them that our leaden bullets will not kill; in proof of which he had a bullock placed 100 yards off and had three hundred bullets (taken from Clark's party) fired at it without effect."

*28th August. 1840.*—Hybat Khān gave the following information :—

"About two months ago their Sayyid in whom they place great faith having agreed to render our guns and muskets harmless, the whole of the tribe, under Lāl Khān and Duleel Khān assembled to attack the fort. In the meantime they

got information from one of our *kāsīd* spies, that we were at work from morning till night, and had built up two extra forts inside, and had also dug a well under the gateway. Upon hearing this, the Sayyid had a most convenient dream, declared he would have nothing to do with the business, and strongly recommended no attack. On this the tribe immediately broke up."

35. They can also ward off disease. In the chiefship of Iḍḍā Khān, cholera appeared in Disease. Kahān, and attacked Sayyid Haidar Shāh and his son. But as he lay dying, the Sayyid declared that never again should cholera appear in the village. If a man sets out on a long journey he will always take some dust (*khurdā*) off the Sayyid's shrine in Kahān, as a sure preventive against cholera. When an epidemic scourges a settlement, the Sayyids and the Mullas go round with Korans on their heads repeating the *bāng* or call to prayers, and so, with luck, they drive off the pestilence.

36. Sayyid Yār Shāh, who lives at Kahān, is especially renowned for the efficacy of his charms not only against disease Drought. but drought, for Sayyids are also adepts at calling down rain from the sky. But as few parts of Baluchistān are more subject to drought than the Marī country, it is pretty clear that the Marīs don't overwork their Sayyids.

37. Not the least admirable of a Sayyid's gifts is the ease with which he can rid the Locust-driving. country of locusts. He catches a locust, and pronouncing some spell over it, he ties it to the tail of his horse. Then he mounts and is off at a gallop, and the whole swarm of locusts follow at his heels and are gone.

38. The members of three groups in the tribe are held in special reverence, and are almost Sacred sections. sacrosanct: the Bahāwalānzai,



the Mahkāni and the Bārūhānzai. The two former belong to the Gazēni clan ; the Bārūhānzai are Shīrāni.

39. The Bahāwalānzai derive their sanctity from Dōst

Ali Khān, the grandfather of the  
Bahāwalānzai. great Bahāwalān, who gives the

section its name. It appears that Dōst Ali once fared forth with the Khān of Kalāt to do battle with some chieftain of Makrān, and was wounded in the fight. Now it was the chieftain's custom to hang out the heads of his vanquished on his city gates. So after the battle he sent forth his men to cut off the heads of the dead and wounded on the field. But when they came to Dōst Ali, his body turned to a block of stone. They departed, and the stone became flesh and blood once more. They came back, and again he turned to stone. Thrice was this miracle repeated, but at the third time, stone he became and stone he remains unto this day. But where this wonderful block of stone is to be found, not even the Maris can tell you. A similar story is told of another Bahāwalānzai who accompanied one of the Khāns to Kandahār.

And that the Bahāwalānzai have since that day been signalled out for God's especial favour is proved—should further proof be needed—by what happened to Bahāwalān himself. Now Bahāwalān, truth to tell, began life as anything but a saint. For he fell madly in love with a Jat woman, and pressed his suit to such purpose, that a time and a place were appointed between them. But when Bahāwalān came to keep the tryst, he saw no lover but a blaze of light. So dazzling was it, that he fell into a deep swoon. And when he came to his senses, he found himself lying with his head in his lover's lap. Assured that it was no earthly vision that he had seen, he kissed her on the forehead, and vowed she should be unto him as a sister. So off he wandered and lived the life of an ascetic, eating the leaves of trees, and drinking the milk of wild does, until he was called forth from the wilderness by his son to take up the chiefship that had been purchased from his brother. (§ 8.)



40. The Mahkānī owe their sanctity to Dhārū, one of their  
 Mahkānī. ancestors. For once on a time,  
 when Dhārū was grazing his  
 flocks, up came four beggars and begged a sheep of him.  
 So he gave them one, and they killed it and roasted it, and  
 when they had eaten their fill, they blessed him, saying that  
 the All-bountiful would endow his offspring with power to  
 work miracles. And so it was, for the four beggars were  
 none other than the Four Friends of the Prophet. And to  
 this day the Mahkānī drive out evil spirits, and a blessing  
 from them is health to those that are sick. But their bless-  
 ing will do even more, for they can make the bullets of the  
 foe harmless against the man they bless.

41. The holiness of the Bārūhānzai arose in much the  
 Bārūhānzai. same way, thanks to a signal act  
 of charity by their ancestor Nihāl.  
 But its symptoms take a different form. If a sheep or a  
 goat die, all the flockowner has to do to bring it to life  
 again, is to get a Bārūhānzai to catch it by the ear and bid  
 it arise. No mean asset this to flockowners like the Maris.  
 The more the pity that the Bārūhānzai are almost extinct.  
 We can only hope that the thirty-eight survivors at the  
 present day won't die childless.

42. The chief festivals are the Īd-ul-Fitar and the Īd-ul-  
 High days and holidays. Zuhā. Clean clothes are donned  
 in honour of both days, which  
 begin in prayer and end in horse-races, tent-pegging and  
 merrymaking. On the Īd-ul-Zuhā goats and sheep are slaugh-  
 tered, in the usual belief that such a sacrifice will give a man  
 a horse to ride in the after-world. The meat-offering is  
 distributed among friends, relations and the poor. On the  
 morning of the tenth day of the Muharram they visit the  
 graves of their relations of both sexes, and sprinkle them  
 with water. On their return home they distribute cooked  
 meat in alms. In the evening they call a mulla in to offer  
 up *khatm* or prayers, and once again distribute food among

the poor. Alms are also given on the 23rd and 27th days of the Ramzān.

43. The sanctity of these sections is reflected in the

Shrines.

shrines dotted up and down the country. At Kahān there is the shrine of Bahāwalān himself, and of Buzhēr, another Bahāwalānzai. Here also is the shrine of Pir Haidar Shāh, who having powers to prevent and cure cholera, is naturally in great request as soon as the disease appears in the neighbourhood (§ 35). The shrine of Dhārā the Bārdhānzai saint, is on the Thadrī hill, that of Nihāl the Mahkāni is at Katgī, six miles from Kahān. Another favourite shrine is the shrine of Taukalī Mast in Kohlu. There are no set days for worship at these shrines. If anyone has a prayer to make, he resorts to the shrine; if the prayer is granted, he returns with his offering. The attendant at the shrine of Bahāwalān regularly gets a *kāsa* of wheat for each plough on the Bahāwalānzai lands. But they have also female saints in their Calendar, for the shrines of three ladies in particular, Māi Khairī, a Bahāwalānzai, Māi Sadō, a Muhammadāni, and Māi Natrō, a Gazēnī, attract many devotees of either sex. On the day following the Shab-i-barāt, all the Muhammadāni Lohārāni assemble at Māi Sadō's shrine in Nisau—each man bringing a sheep. Then sheep are sacrificed at the shrine and the meat distributed among those present.

44. Trials by ordeal are resorted to when a man is accused

Trial by ordeal.

of theft or a debt or the like, and there is no proof forthcoming. There are four kinds of ordeal, by oath, by water, by fire and by ploughshares.

45. If an appeal is made to a trial by oath, the accused

Oath.

must perform his ablutions and lift up a Koran in his hands and take this oath: 'I swear by this Koran that I did not steal it,' or whatever it be that he's accused of. His accuser then

prays, saying: 'If this man did indeed steal it, and has hereby perjured himself by thee, oh Holy Koran, do thou punish him.' And if the man swears falsely, he'll come to harm sooner or later. And if it's the truth he's sworn, his accuser is sure to be the worse for having extracted the oath. This ordeal is all the better for being performed in a mosque or at some holy shrine.

46. If the matter is to be put to the test of water, they set two men sixty paces apart on the bank of some pool, and a third in the middle with a pole stuck in the water. At the word 'Go!' the accused seizes hold of the pole, and dives under the water. Then one of the two men runs to where the other's standing, and as soon as he reaches him, off starts the other along the same track. If the accused keeps his head under water until the sixty paces have been traversed first by the one and then by the other, he's clear of the offence. But if his head bobs up before time is called, he's guilty, and will have to pay up fourfold.

47. For an ordeal of fire they dig a trench, six feet long, a foot deep and half a foot broad. In it they light a fire and pile it up until the trench is ablaze with live coal. Then they set seven stones in the trench at equal distances apart, and when they're red hot, they put a *kharag* leaf over each. Everything is now ready for the accused. All he has to do is to walk the seven stones, step by step, and if he comes through unscathed, he's innocence itself, but if his feet are burnt or blistered, he stands self-convicted and must disgorge his ill-gotten gains.

48. An ordeal by ploughshare is a simple affair. They merely lay a red-hot ploughshare on a man's palm which is bare except for a *kharag* leaf, and keep it there for a couple of minutes. A glance at his hand will soon shew whether he's

guilty or not. A burn or a blister is quite enough to damn him.

49. Before carrying out an ordeal by fire or water, the two interested parties kill a sheep, and distribute the meat in alms. A mulla then calls upon the fire or water to vindicate the truth, praying: 'Oh fire (or water, as the case may be) I implore thee in the name of God and of his Prophet to declare the guilt or innocence of this man.' Whichever of the two comes off second best in the ordeal, will have to pay the other twice the value of the sheep that was sacrificed.

50. The Bahāwalānzai look to their ancestors, to the great Bahāwalān above all, to visit them in their dreams, and offer them their counsel in times of stress. Thus, not so many years ago when there was a feeling of unrest among the tribe, and some families had decamped to Afghānistān in high dudgeon and others seemed only too ready to follow suit, the Chief had a dream in which he was told to be of good cheer, for the deserters would soon return and submit themselves once more to his rule. And sure enough, they did. Coming events are foreshadowed in the dreams of even common folk, though less store is set by them. If the dream centres round a bloody knife, there's bloodshed ahead. But dreams often go by contraries, and a man who is unlucky enough to dream of gold or treasure, may make up his mind for trouble on the morrow. So as the interpretation of a dream is no simple affair, it is just as well to have a mulla in to help.

51. Of the two guns left by the British force in 1841 in the Nafusk pass, one was subsequently given to Sir Hugh Barnes. But the other, in consequence of the dream of some saintly dreamer, was wrapped in cloth, put in a gunny bag, padded round with

The case of the two guns abandoned by the British.

felt, and buried in a graveyard at the mouth of the Sārtāf pass with its muzzle turned to the hereditary enemy, the Bugtīs. And so long as the gun remained buried in this wise (so said the dreamer) so long would the Marīs hold the mastery. But in 1896 the gun was unearthed and brought to Kahān, where it lies to this day in the *zumandār's* household. Small wonder, think the Marīs, that ill-luck now dogs the tribe.

52. There are omens at every turn. If a man starts off

Omens. on some important errand, and a  
sisi (*sēṣū*) or desert sparrow

(*giānch*) crosses his path—on the left in the morning, on the right in the evening,—he will be wise to put off his business for a while. And if some one sneezes as he starts, it's just as bad. But should a snake cross the path, success is sure. As for embarking on a journey on a Friday, or on the 3rd, 8th, 13th, 18th, 23rd or 28th of any Muhammadan month, it's quite out of the question. Evil spirits are abroad in the land, and are only to be warded off with charms repeated by a mulla or Sayyid. As for the evil eye, charms are all very well in their way, but to be on the safe side one should take the dust from under the feet of him or her who casts the blight, and throw it in the fire.

53. The Māi Dātī or Bountiful Mother of small-pox is worshipped among the women.

The small-pox deity.

If there's a case of small-pox in the house, or should poxes appear after inoculation, a virgin or a Hindu woman is called in on the fifth day. A silver coin, varying from two annas to a rupee, is placed on a sieve. Then she takes up the sieve and sprinkles cow's urine through it on to the sick. The coin she keeps. This ceremony is called *gujjā chhīnṭā*, or secret sprinkling, for it's done in private. On the seventh day it is performed in public, and hence is called *sāhīrīn chhīnṭā*, but at this ceremony cards are used instead of the urine. Then six girls and a boy are fed on *shīr-bhat* or rice and milk. They

put antimony (*surma*) in their right eyes, henna (*hinnā*) to their right hands, and *sendhūr* to their foreheads. Then they wash their hands in a basin, and with the dirty water they sprinkle the forehead of the sick, and call upon Māi Dātī and say: "Now we give you leave, begone elsewhere!" And if the sick doesn't recover after that, he ought to. While the disease is on, girls and women assemble in the house and sing hymns to the goddess. Here is one of them.

Māi Dātī's house is across the river ;

Of gold are her earrings, her comb is of silver.

Cool the earth, and be kind, oh Mother ! oh Giver !

This and the other hymns are in the *Jaṭkī*. They are in fact, like the whole ritual and worship, an interesting example of Hindu influence.

#### IV.—Occupation.

54. Though the Maris have been pastoralists from the beginning, they were more concerned in the old days with lifting their neighbours' cattle than with looking after their own. With the advent of British control they have perforce abandoned their forays, and peace has turned them to the cultivation of land. So marked is the change, that an owner of land now looks down on the mere owner of flocks.

55. But though agriculture has come into fashion, they are for the most part still nomadic, their migrations, however, being ordinarily confined to the limits of their own country. In times of drought they are driven by scarcity of grass and fodder into Sind and the Dera Ghazi Khan district, only to return when the scarcity is over.

56. They keep sheep and goats, cows and bullocks, donkeys, horses, camels and dogs. The sheep and goats are horned ; the former have fat tails. There are no special breeds. The cattle are short but sturdily built. The donkeys are of medium size, and black with white bellies.

(*gōrakh*). The principal breeds are Buzdār, *Khorāzai* and Maizarzai, the first being the favourite. The horses are of average size, and trained to amble (*rāhdār*). The best breeds are Kajalzai, Garrizai, *Khorāzai* and Maizarzai. Country stallions are kept by the Dōmbes, who serve them out for a fee of one rupee. They have recently taken to gelding, but even so much prefer the mare for riding purposes. Foals are left with the mother until they are a year old, and are then given grain and fodder. At a year and a half they are broken in, first with a smooth bridle and a light weight, and so gradually to the saddle. After a long ride, a horse is usually kept bridled and without food for about an hour, and is then given about half a pound of molasses. A camel-calf is weaned after about a year. They break in a three-year old by putting a small stick (*chimir*) through its nose, and making it carry gradually increasing weights. Formerly they had a contempt for camel-breeding and looked down upon it as the calling of a Jat. But they have now come to appreciate the profits to be made out of it. Dogs are kept by flock-owners to protect the flock from wolves and other wild beasts.

57. The chief diseases which affect their animals and their local remedies are the following:—

*Gurpuk*:—attacks goats, sheep and camels. Symptoms: small boils in and round the ears. Remedies: none. The animal gets over the attack in a month or fortnight.

*Chharo*:—attacks goats, sheep and cattle. Symptoms: tongue parched, feet crooked. Remedy: sprinkling a cup of water over which a Sayyid has read a charm, on the affected parts.

*Garr*:—attacks goats and camels. Symptoms: mange and small boils on the body. Remedies:



- (1) In the case of camels, rubbing the body with bitter oil mixed with dammar (*saṭun*);  
 (2) in the case of goats, dipping the tail in a cauldron of hot bitter oil. But in spite of these remedies about half the animals affected succumb.

*RIĀĀ* :—attacks sheep and goats about March (Chet) and August (Sānwan). Symptoms : diarrhœa. Remedies : none. Half the cases die.

58. Flocks are grazed from dawn to dusk. If it's a flock of goats he's grazing, the herdsman walks ahead, and keeps on repeating '*thai ! thai !*' to make the goats follow him. If he's tending sheep, his call is '*darri ! darri !*' A herd of camels he drives ahead of him with '*ahūn ! ahūn !*' Whenever he comes across grass, plants or shrubs, he squats down leaving the animals to browse. During the winter the animals are kept at nights in pens made of thorny hedges. A cattle pen is called *jūb*, a sheep pen *wāṭā*, and a pen for the kids *khuḍi*.

59. Felt (*gandal*) is made by the women out of sheep's wool. They spread the wool on the ground and beat the dust out of it with a couple of sticks (*laṭhāk*) about three feet long and an inch thick. After this beating process (*panjan*) is over, they spread the cleaned wool on a felt or *kōnt*, and sprinkle it well with water. Then they roll the felt up, and rub and pound it vigorously with their arms. This rubbing (*mathagh*) makes the wool stick together, and it is then taken out and dried.

60. What is known as the Marī country was occupied in turn by the Kupchānī, the Kalmatī Bulfat, the Sihāna, and the Hasnī, each wrestling

Acquisition of the tribal lands.

the prize from its predecessor. The Maris who fled with Mir Chākar eastwards before the pressure of the Turks, first settled at Bijār Waḍ, about twenty miles north of Kahān and ten miles south of Māwand, and gathering strength gradually ousted the Hasnī from the country. But the occupation of the lands they now hold was a matter of some time, and it was only in the last century that they acquired some of their richer tracts. For the Hasnī were not ousted from Nisau, Phailāwagh and Jant Ali until the time of Dōdā Khān; Quat, Mandai and Bādrā were taken from the Bārōzai a little later; while the Zarkūns were dispossessed of part of Köhla as recently as 1878.

61. The Mari country proper was first divided up among the clans in the chiefship of the Division of the various areas. great Bahāwalān; Quat, Mandai, Jant Ali and Bādrā were divided up in the chiefship of Nur Muhammad; Nisau and Köhla in the chiefship of Mēhrulla Khān. The Phailāwagh lands remained for ages a bone of contention with the Bugṭis, until a settlement was effected in 1906, when the portion that fell to the tribe was handed over to the Lōhārānis, the other two clans relinquishing their shares.

62. The principle of division of tribal lands is characteristic. First and foremost, one-Decennial division of land. sixth of the land in the heart of the country was set apart as the *sardārē bakhsh* (§ 10). It was in this way, for instance, that the lands in the immediate vicinity of Kahān became the inalienable heritage of the *tumandārī* over and above the land which falls to the chief personally like any other tribesman. The lands were thereafter divided into four equal shares, one share going to each of the four clans, the Gazēnī, the Bijārānī, the Lohārānī, and the Shirānī. Each share was further sub-divided into five allotments, one or more going to a group of sections into which the clan was arranged, no doubt on the basis of numerical strength. And finally the allotment given to each

sectional group was split up into as many holdings as it contained males of whatever age, the actual apportioning of the plots of land being determined by the drawing of lots (*tīr*) with pellets of sheep or goat droppings. The Lohārāni and the Shīrāni used to make marriage or at least betrothal a condition of participating in the division, but since the time of Mēhrulla Khān they have come into line with the other two clans, and divide up equally among the males irrespective of age or civil condition. This division among the males is known genteelly as *mardānsari*, and commonly as *kār-māz*, a forcible phrase untranslatable in modern English. So thorough-going is the division, that every male within the tribe (except of course a Hindu) is allotted his portion, be he Jat or Jatt or serf. Not that the Jat or Jatt or serf is allowed to enter into actual possession of his share of land; it goes to swell the holding of his overlord or master. The allotments held, and still hold, good for a period of ten years, at the end of which there is a complete shifting of redistribution, which holds good for another ten years. This elastic system facilitates the admission of *hamsāyās* into the tribe (§ 15) by enabling them to participate in the tribal lands. It also keeps the wealth of the tribe equally divided among its members—socialism in one of its most primitive and not least attractive forms.

63. Except in the irrigated Quat, Mandai and Bādrā valleys, cultivation depends on

Division of water.

*chur* or hill-torrents. These *chur* were divided up once and for all at the first division of the lands. That is to say, the particular share of the torrent allotted to a particular plot of land remains constant, irrespective of the number of male members in the families through whose hands the plot passes. In fact, even those plots which, for some reason or other, were left waterless at the first division of the lands, are in exactly the same position now. Of course, if there is any surplus, the water is allowed to flow on to other lands, after irrigating the plots to which it is assigned.

## V.—Home Life.

64. The dress of a male consists simply of a turban  
 Dress. (phāg), a shirt (kurti), a pair of  
 trousers (shalwār) and a sheet  
 (pushti), flung over the shoulders. These clothes were formerly made of the coarse country cloth called *kōra*, which was imported from Sind. But nowadays long cloth and muslin (*malmal*) are largely used. A Mari always dresses in white; there is no distinctive dress for priest or fighting-man. The female dress consists of a head cloth (*sari*), a shirt (*pashk*) and—among well-to-do families in Kahān—a pair of trousers. Colours, especially black, are avoided, though marriageable girls among the well-to-do wear coloured shirts, scarlet being the favourite colour. Parents pass on their clothes to their children during their life-time, but on their death the clothes they have worn are handed over to a mulla.

65. After the age of about seven, up to which the head  
 is clean-shaved, Maris do not  
 The dressing of the hair. cut their hair but allow it to grow to full length. Those that can afford the luxury, clean it once a week with fuller's earth (*māf*) and then apply oil. As they let their locks fall down about the shoulders, the upper part of their shirts is usually begrimed with grease. A girl's head is shaved with the exception of locks in front and behind up to the age of three. Thereafter, the hair is not touched. Married women do not plait their hair; the unmarried have plaits at both sides.

66. Men sometimes wear finger-rings (*mundrī*) and  
 Ornaments. earrings (*dur*), but no other  
 jewellery. The women wear two kinds of rings in their nose, *pulō* and *būl*. On their forehead they wear *dauni*; round their neck they wear *hār*, *tūwā*, *hansī*, and *sangar*; on the head *chōfil phul*; in their ears *jumukh*, *dandān* and *nāsbi*; on their little finger *angushtari*, with *chhalā* on the other fingers; on their arms

*kaṛī* and *chūrī*; on their ankles *pāisēb*; and *mundrī* on their toes. Golden ornaments must not be worn on feet or ankles; other ornaments may be either silver or gold according to the means of the family. Every ornament is easily removeable. Of course only the well-to-do can afford all this jewellery. The majority content themselves with the *ḡandīān* (earrings, which are the distinctive mark of a married woman), *hansī* (neck-lace), and *mundrī* (finger-rings), all made of silver.

67. Settled abodes are few and far between. The typical dwelling-place is the *kīṛī* or mat-tent, which usually consists of a single room. It is carried from place to place on donkeys, a day's journey ranging from six to ten miles. It is the women who have to do the tent-pitching, and this is how they set to work. They drive two upright poles in the ground, and join them together at the top with a third. Over this they put a strip of matting made of *pish* or dwarf-palm leaves, letting the ends fall to the ground. Each of the four corners of the matting is secured to the ground with a bit of rope, with another bit of rope in the middle, the ropes being fastened to pegs or big stones. The *kīṛī* serves as a dwelling in both winter and summer, the only difference being that its sides are shut in during the winter to keep out the wind and cold. In rainy or cold weather the fire is lit inside the *kīṛī*, the smoke issuing at the sides. Some use is also made of *juḡḡa*—natural shelters or holes in the hill-side.

68. The household utensils and furniture usually consist of a hand-mill (*jathar*), a woollen rug on which they grind the hand-mill, a water-skin (*khallī*), a goats' hair sack for holding grain (*ḡwālaghī*), an earthen griddle (*lāfaghī*), an earthen cooking-pot (*dēs*), steel (*āṣṣaj*), flint (*askī sing*), and tinder (*phur*) for producing fire, a quilt (*leh*), a goats' hair carpet (*kharar*), a wooden (*tūḥī*) or copper (*haddā*) drinking cup, a wooden platter (*sark*), a sieve (*ḡeshan*), a

goats' hair sack (*wahdān*), in which salt is kept, a clothes bag (*bushkā*) and a goats' hair saddle-bag (*hurjin*), into which the household kit is bundled to be carried on the march loaded on a pack-animal. Of these the hand-mill, the *sark* and *kadda* are imported from Sind, the other articles being made locally. The wooden articles are fashioned out of *tecoma undulata* (*pharpugh*), *prosopis spicigera* (*kahir*) and tamarisk (*gas*).

69. Food is taken twice a day, in the morning and even-

Meals.

ing. Before eating the hands are washed and '*Bismillah-ir-*

*rahmān-ir-rahīm*' is repeated as a grace. The food is eaten with the hands, knives being only used for the *sajji* (§ 74). The food for the men and women in a family is cooked together, but the sexes eat separately. Relatives who come in as guests take their meals in the home with the family, but other guests are served with food apart. A father will not suffer an unweaned child to eat from his dish, nor would he drink from a cup out of which it has drunk.

70. The chief grains used for food are wheat, *juārī*, *bājri*

Grains.

and rice. They are ground on a hand-mill, which consists of two

circular stones, one on top of the other. The upper stone has a handle to turn it, and a hole to receive the grain. The hand-mill rests on a cloth made of goats' hair while the grinding is going on. The oven (*tanūr*) is made of mud and built in under the ground. When the dough has been got ready, it is kneaded by hand and stuck against the wall of the oven, and removed by hand when it is baked.

71. They drink the milk of their sheep, goats, cows,

Milk and its products.

and camels, but not of mares, and make even more use of it in

the form of curds, buttermilk and butter. The milking and the other processes are women's work. They boil the milk and turn it with a little buttermilk (*akhar*). The curdling (*bun*) takes about twelve hours. The curds (*mastagh*) thus



formed are put into a skin (*hiss*) which is hung between a couple of poles and shaken into butter (*nēmāgh*). They do not make cheese.

72. In summer they make sharbats (called *lassi*) with  
 Drinks. molasses and sugar (*mīsrī*). Tea  
 has not come into use. Nor do  
 they drink intoxicants, or indulge in any drugs except  
 tobacco.

73. They eat the flesh of fowls and all animals which are  
 Meat. lawful to Muhammadans, except  
 fish and horse-flesh which they  
 never touch. They do not resort to smoking or salting  
 meat or drying it in the sun, but either roast it or broil it in  
 clarified butter in a *dēs* or earthen pan over the fire.

74. But of all their dishes *sajji* is the favourite, and the  
 Sajji. dish of honour to set before a  
 guest. A sheep or goat—but  
 preferably the former—is killed, flayed, slashed and carved  
 into joints. The joints are well sprinkled with salt, and  
 spitted on green twigs, which are stuck along the ground  
 in a row, with blazing logs in front of them. And the  
 slashed portion of the meat is turned to the Bugtī country,  
 so bitter is the hatred of Mari to Bugtī. And truth to tell,  
 the Bugtīs return the compliment, whenever they roast *sajji*.  
 The *sajji* is ordinarily eaten by itself without bread. The  
 marrow extracted from the bone is regarded as a special  
 delicacy.

75. The dwarf-palm furnishes several kinds of food.  
 Fruits, etc. There is the ear (*kīlar*) which is  
 eaten cooked, the ripe berrylike  
 fruit (*kunar*) which is eaten raw, to say nothing of the roots  
 (*badḍul*). There are two other plants, *launsh* and *phīdag*,  
 which serve as food. Both are eaten raw, though the latter  
 is sometimes cooked.

76. The cooking and eating utensils—*tāfagh*, *dēs*, *sah-  
 nak*, *tūthi*, *kadda* (§ 68)—are sup-  
 posed to be washed clean after  
 Cooking utensils.

use, but as often as not they are simply laid aside to be brought into use just as they are whenever they are next required.

77. Cooked food touched by a sweeper becomes defiled ;

Defilements. so does food licked by a cat,  
but boiling or cooking makes it

clean again. A sword which has killed an unclean animal is unclean until it has been purified by rubbing it clean in the earth.

78. A family on the march usually carries a handmill

Food on the march. and a baking-pan (*tāfagh*) with  
it. When they halt, they im-

provise a fireplace, by simply dumping down three stones in the form of a triangle, and bake the food in the pan over it. But the traveller who wants to travel light doesn't burden himself with a *tāfagh* at all. All he need take with him is some flour seasoned with salt, and his flint and steel. Then he will halt on the bank of a stream or at a pool, tether his nag to a shrub, gather a few sticks from the nearest bush, kindle a fire with his flint, pick up a round stone and put it in the fire. Then he kneads his flour on his sheet, wraps the dough round the heated stone, and shoves it in the embers, always taking care to place it in the direction in which he is going. So a man need waste little time over the making of his *kak*, as this kind of bannock is called. And if he's in a hurry to be off, he just tucks it in his pocket, mounts his nag and munches merrily as he jogs along the road.

79. Fire is produced in one of two ways. They either

Production of fire. bore a hole in a piece of dry  
*kharag* wood, and get a spark

by rubbing a stick of *kaler* in the hole, letting the spark kindle some bits of dried cow-dung. Or they use the flint (*aski sing*) and steel (*āgēj*) and tinder (*phur*). The tinder is prepared from a woolly substance in the root (*baddul*) of the dwarf-palm (*pish*), which is first soaked in a little

saltpetre or gunpowder dissolved in water, and then thoroughly dried. For fuel they use shrubs, especially the dwarf-palm and tamarisk (*gus*), as well as the dung of camels, sheep and goats. No legends surround the invention of fire, nor are there any special ceremonies in connection with it. But a custom among the children on the last night of the month of Safar is worth mentioning. They pile up seven small bonfires, and jump over the flames shouting '*Safar saghar sokhta!*' 'Safar's head is burnt!' Fire plays of course an important part in trials by ordeal (§ 47).

80. Here is a list of common Diseases and prescriptions. ailments and diseases with the local herb prescriptions:—

*Jaundice*.—Two ounces of *gurdīr* boiled in four as much water, strained through cloth, and taken internally.

*Nose-bleeding*.—*Maxan Sar* leaves well powdered and taken as snuff.

*Tooth-ache*.—(1) *Khunar-par* boiled and used as a gargle; (2) *ashrah* well powdered and rubbed on the gums.

*Stomach-ache*.—(1) Two ounces of *bīrī* taken internally; (2) half an ounce of *goatha* parched in a pan, powdered with half an ounce of anise-seed (*wadof*) and half an ounce of sugar, strained through cloth, and taken with a little water.

*Asthma*.—(1) Half an ounce of *guchtū* boiled with a little molasses in a pot of water until a couple of ounces remain, then strained and taken internally; (2) *kohī bhang* smoked like tobacco.

*Cough*.—(1) *Surajī* chewed slowly; (2) half an ounce each of *charmā hīng* and *dōsh* boiled in a little water sweetened with molasses and taken as a draught.

*Sore eyes*.—Three grains of *hat sur* mixed with half an ounce of antimony well powdered, and applied to the affected parts.

*Gravel*.—(1) A couple of ounces of *terūt lūng* well powdered, mixed with half an ounce of sugar in a couple of ounces of water, strained and taken as a draught; (2) half an ounce of *kurī* soaked overnight in a pot of water, strained in the morning and taken as a draught with half an ounce of sugar; (3) a couple of ounces of *meshīrag* well powdered, mixed with sugar and water, and taken as a draught; (4) a third of an ounce of *munḍhērī* soaked overnight in water, powdered in the morning, mixed with sugar and water, and taken as a draught.

*"Heat."*—(1) A draught of *munḍhērī* to be taken as for gravel; (2) a couple of ounces of *sāmūr* soaked overnight, powdered in the morning, sweetened and taken as a draught; (3) half an ounce of *khōlmūr* soaked overnight, sweetened and taken as a draught; (4) an ounce of *khar khūwag* powdered, added to a pint of water and taken as a draught; (5) small equal quantities of *pīr* and *panēr* powdered and taken in a little water.

*Malaria*.—(1) A third of an ounce of *maur* boiled in half a pint of water and strained, taken as a draught; (2) half an ounce of *khal poragh* soaked overnight, well powdered in the morning, mixed in a little water and strained, taken as a draught; (3) *phag* mixed with bitter oil, applied externally.

*Fever*.—(1) *Pīr* and *panēr* taken as for 'heat'; (2) a draught of *charmā hing* and *dōsh*, taken as for cough.

*Low remittent fever* (for children only).—A little *balak* made into a poultice, and tied on the head.

*Zahr-bād*.—(1) Half an ounce of *khartusagh* and *kōrā kaphī* boiled in three ounces of water, till only half remains, taken as a draught; (2)

a draught of *khar khūwag* taken as for 'heat'; in the case of children—a little *hil shak* powdered and taken with sugar.

*Constipation* (for little children only).—Six grains of *lāyi* in water sweetened with twenty grains of molasses

*Gout*.—Two ounces of *godandan* soaked overnight, powdered in the morning, and taken as a draught.

*Flatulence* (*bādi*).—Six grains of *gwach* eaten after the evening meal for several days.

*Spleen*.—Two pounds of *khar phugh* boiled in twice as much water till two pounds remain, then strained, half a pound of molasses added to the decoction, and boiled away, leaving a plaster like sediment—*davish*—of which a quarter of an ounce is eaten every morning.

*Boils* (*chingaru*).—Half a pound of *khar sandh*, powdered and boiled in a pint of water, mixed with wheat or *juārī* flour and bitter oil, made into a poultice and applied.

*Urinary complaints*.—(1) Twelve grains of *thegan* powdered, mixed with two ounces of water, sweetened and taken as a draught; (2) a one-third of an ounce of *sūn par* powdered, mixed with eight ounces of water, sweetened and taken as a draught.

*Pains in the kidney*.—A one-third of an ounce of *warin* boiled in two ounces of water, then mixed with two ounces of clarified butter, and some sugar, and taken as draught.

*Wounds*.—(1) Powder some *phidagh*, mix with flour and oil, and make a poultice; (2) powder *chhagard pan*, mix with water, and apply externally.

*Internal injuries*.—Make a small pill of *kōhī mōmīāi* and butter and swallow.

*Still-birth.*—Burn some *dul koh*, put half an ounce of the ashes into two ounces of water, let it soak overnight, strain in the morning, and take as a draught.

*Dāis* or midwives are unknown, except in the town of Kahān itself, the common idea being that if sheep and goats can bring forth without extraneous help, healthy full-grown women should be able to do the same. It is common enough for a woman to go out to tend the sheep or fetch water, and return with a baby in her arms.

## VI.—Social Customs.

81. To be respectful to one's elders and betters, to be hospitable, to behave in a seemly manner in an assembly, to be solicitous after the *hāl* (§ 84) of another,—these are the first rules of politeness.

82. Ordinary folk on meeting one another shake hands. Meeting. When a Mari meets a Bahāwalānzai, he reverently touches his feet ; a *mukaddam* meeting a Bahāwalānzai, bends down, and the Bahāwalānzai offers his hand.

83. A meeting starts off with *durāhi* or enquiries after health. Says the one : *wash ē ? durāh ē ? hair biya ; hair mēhr !* 'Are you happy ? are you hale and hearty ? you are welcome ! all's well !' Meanwhile the other will have got in his word : *hair ! hudā hair kutha ! hair mēhr !* 'Tis well ; God has made it so ! all's well !' Then he in turn puts the same enquiries and the other makes the same rejoinders. A Bahāwalānzai and others of high standing ask the usual questions, but unless the other happens to be of equal status, he will reply : *ghulām ūn, bandag ūn, hudā hair kuthā ! thai hair loḥān !* 'we are slaves ! we are servants ! God has made it well ! I wish you well !'

84. These set enquires over, they interchange their news  
*Hal.* (*hāl*). A man giving his *hāl* will  
 bring in quite ordinary circumstances, and mention briefly the business that has brought him. Not to ask for the *hāl* of a newcomer is the height of rudeness. No enquiries, of course, are ever made about females.

85. Guest-houses (*māhmān-khāna*) are kept up by the  
 Hospitality. *tumandār* and other leading Bahawalānzai and *mukaddams* for the lodging and entertainment of guests and strangers. Kinsfolk they would entertain in their own house. Ordinary Maris do not admit guests, even relations, to their homes, but send out a mat and serve them with cooked food. The nature of the food depends on the quality of the guest. If he's a man of standing, they cook meat in his honour, but an ordinary guest is given pot-luck.

86. An enemy would be treated with the greatest  
 Peace-making. ceremony of all, but he would hardly venture to put in an appearance, unless he came with a Koran to make peace. On his arrival he would place the Koran between him and his enemy, and sue for peace. His petition would ordinarily be granted, and peace would be solemnized with the offering up of prayer *duā-hair* and the distribution of sweetmeats.

87. When a man has to scrape money together to pay a  
*Bijār.* fine, for instance, or bride-price or compensation, he goes about first among the men of his own section and then among the rest of the tribe, begging for contributions (*bijār*). He would rarely go beyond the limits of the tribe for *bijār*, except among his personal friends. A Bahawalānzai in like case collects *bijār* among the Bahawalānzai, and does not go to other sections in the tribe except on the occasion of a marriage, when he collects sheep one by one throughout the tribe.



88. A woman can hardly be said to have any status at all. She is always in a state of dependence, first on her father, then on her husband, and on widowhood on her father or his heirs. Orphan girls are indeed part of the inheritance itself (§ 121). As a woman has to do outdoor work, she necessarily enjoys a certain amount of freedom, but she is not supposed to speak to strangers. Unmarried girls are set to work nearer home, and are never allowed abroad unattended. *Parda* is observed among the Bahāwalānzai and is now being introduced among the Bijārānis (§ 31.). Women do not eat with the male members of the family; nor do they call their husband by name, but address him as the father of his children.

#### VII.—Domestic Ceremonies.

89. On the occasion of the birth of a son in a Bahāwalānzai family, twelve *ūhusrī* or Birth. cakes are baked and distributed among the kinsfolk. A young lamb is killed, and cooked, head, feet, stomach and all, for a feast that evening. To it come all the males in the section, after due performance of their ablutions. And they bind a cloth round the neck of one of the Mēhrābzai sub-section, letting it hang down in front, and on his head they place a platter laden with the meats. He goes the round of the room, platter on head, distributing the meat among the assembly, and saying :—

<i>Bē bach pa bach</i>	... ..	Children to the childless !
<i>Hairo ho Miān Shāh Khanē.</i>		May Miān Shāh* bestow !
<i>Bē hath pa hath</i>	... ..	Health to the healthless !
<i>Hairo ho Mian Shāh Khanē...</i>		May Miān Shāh bestow !
<i>Bē bakht pa bakht</i>	... ..	Luck to the luckless !
<i>Hairo ho Mian Shāh Khanē...</i>		May Miān Shāh bestow !
<i>Bē shīr pa shīr</i>	... ..	Milk to the milkless !
<i>Hairo ho Miān Shāh Khanē.</i>		May Miān Shāh bestow !
<i>Bē imān pa imān</i>	... ..	Faith to the faithless !
<i>Hairo ho Miān Shāh Khanē ...</i>		May Miān Shāh bestow !

\* Miān Ghāzī Barbār was a Sayyid of Bahāwalpur who once visited Kabān, and performed several miracles.

Then they take the cloth from his neck, and partake of the food. The ceremony is called *Shādmānī*.

90. Children are named on the seventeenth day after birth, and alms are distributed in honour of the occasion.
- Naming.

91. As soon as a boy begins to learn to walk, they bake a loaf, and tie a thin rope, made of dwarf-palm leaves, loosely round his feet, and take him by the hand, rolling the loaf in front of him. Then one of the men cuts the rope, saying '*tai dūwan burīhanī* 1,' that is to say 'I have cut thy rope !' The loaf is then distributed among those present.

First Steps.

92. Every male child (and this applies even to serfs and subject races) has to undergo *whar* or circumcision, for it is the most essential *sunnat* or ordinance of all. It may be performed at any age between three or seven, the earlier the better. It is done with a razor, and a barber is the right man for the job, but as there are few barbers among the Maris, it may be entrusted to anybody skilled enough. Money provided by the maternal uncle is placed under the lad's feet during the ceremony, and becomes the perquisite of the barber or whoever does the operation.

Circumcision.

93. The ceremony is much the same everywhere, though the details are somewhat more elaborate among the well-to-do. This is an account of a recent circumcision of one of the Chief's sons. The room was packed full of men, some forty or fifty of the relatives and guests being assembled. No women, of course, were present. The lad was brought in from the women's apartments to the beating of drums, the twanging of *dambīra*, and the singing of the minstrels, and was made to sit on a *sark* or wooden pot, which was turned upside down. A thick red cord was tied round his waist just below the hips to keep the wounded organ away from the rest of his body. To distract his

Description of the Ceremony in the Chief's Family.

attention, they held a sword over his head, and told him they were going to kill a green bird for him. This made the lad look up, and they popped some sugar in his mouth, while the barber seized the opportunity to pinch up the foreskin in a grooved piece of wood and slice it off with his razor. Then they urged the lad to give the barber's beard a tug, regarding it as a test of his pluck whether he had the heart to do it or not. The wooden instrument was apparently a special refinement; all they usually do is to draw up the foreskin with a thread. The severed foreskin was fastened to a green thread, from which hung a couple of metal rings, some cowries, and a small bag filled with rue (*harmal*), and was then tied round the lad's ankle. This was to serve as a *rakh* or protection against the evil spirits. To the wound the barber applied some powder he had prepared out of dry cow-dung and sugar, and looked to see it heal within a week or ten days. The thread would then be taken off the ankle, and either thrown into running water, or hung up on a green tree. They explained the prominence given to the colour green throughout the ceremony either as being the Prophet's colour, or else as a symbolical omen of the lad's future prosperity and manly vigour.

94. After the operation and the exchange of congratulations, *ghôr* or contributions were put by the company into a plate by the lad's side, the Chief himself giving four rupees. As each man came up and dropped his money into the plate, his name and the sum he gave were called out by some influential man chosen for the purpose. The *ghôr* collected amounted to about two hundred rupees, and was distributed among the minstrels. There was also a separate collection of *ghôr* among the women, which went to the minstrels' wives. The barber received a private fee from the Chief over and above a couple of rupees placed by the maternal uncle under the lad's feet. Both the barber and the minstrels had received new turbans for the ceremony. In addition to the *ghôr*, the

#### Expenses.

relations and guests also gave the Chief *bijār* or subscriptions towards the expenses and received *lungis* in return. These subscriptions varied from one to a hundred rupees, according to each man's means. The Chief would, of course, be expected to return the compliment in the event of a circumcision in the family of anyone of his guests, for reciprocity is the essence of *bijār*. The couple of rupees subscribed by the maternal uncle were only a small portion of the actual amount contributed by the wife's people towards the ceremony. The Chief estimated his own expenditure at three thousand rupees, and said he had had to kill six hundred head of sheep for the feast. Though this is probably an exaggeration, the guests came in their hundreds from all parts of the country, being drawn not only from the relatives and tribesmen, but also from the Dōmbkīs and Khetrāns.

95. Though the tribe is absolutely reticent on the subject, it seems almost certain that female  
 Female Circumcision. circumcision in some form or other is universal, though the probabilities are that it takes place on the bridal night and is rather of the nature of artificial defloration than circumcision proper.

96. In olden days the donning of the first pair of trousers marked a very important change  
 The first Breeching. of life. A lad then took his place among the men, bore arms and joined the ranks in tribal warfare. He was accordingly left unbreeched till about fifteen years of age, but nowadays he dons breeches at the first signs of puberty. His first pair has its *pācha* or legging trimmed with red cloth. His comrades at once do all they can to pull the trousers off, and he is not left to wear them in peace, until they have succeeded.

97. Cases sometimes occur of the betrothal of unborn children, when the expectant  
 Betrothal. mothers are near relatives and of the same social standing. But the ordinary method of

setting about a *sāng* or betrothal is for the lad's father to pay a formal visit to the father of the girl to ask for her hand. If he has a marriageable daughter of his own, a double marriage may be arranged; otherwise he will have to pay *lab* or bride-price to the girl's father. If the two fathers come to terms, a public meeting is arranged for the same evening. The boy's father comes with his near male relations and his *mukaddams*. With him he brings two or three sheep which are killed and roasted, both sides partaking of the meat. The killing of the sheep is one of the binding portions of the betrothal ceremony. After the feast the girl's father declares that he has agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the son of so and so in exchange for a maiden or a *lab* of so many rupees. And when the lad's father has added his testimony on his part, the company offer up brief prayers and take their departure. The parents of the lad present the maiden with a headdress, a shirt and trousers.

98. The bride-price varies with the means of the parties

*Lab.*

and the age and the personal attractions of the girl. The cur-

rent rate is about Rs. 500 for a maiden and about half for a widow. It is generally paid at the time of marriage, but a portion is not infrequently handed over as earnest-money after the betrothal. The earnest-money is paid back should the maiden die before marriage; if the youth dies, it is forfeited. The Bahāwalānzai do not deign to accept *lab*, though they have to give it if they seek wives outside their own circle.

99. In the case of *maṭṭan* or marriages arranged by ex-

*Maṭṭan*, or exchange.

change, no *lab* is paid. But it may happen that a man will have

to give two maidens in exchange for the one he is after, should she be unusually comely, or should he be hard put to it and have maidens of his own to spare.

100. A more quaint arrangement is *lāfi bahn*, according

*Lāfi bahn.*

to which A gives his daughter to B's son, in consideration not

only of B's daughter to be his own wife, but also of the first daughter born of the union of his daughter and B's son.

101. Marriages are prohibited as in *Shariat* on the

Prohibited Marriages. grounds of consanguinity, affinity and fosterage. No marriage can

be contracted with ascendants (*e.g.*, with a mother including a stepmother), with descendants (*e.g.*, with a daughter including a daughter-in-law), with relations of the same standing or their descendants (*e.g.*, with a sister, or a niece), or with a maternal or paternal uncle. On the score of affinity, a man cannot marry his wife's mother or daughter, nor his living wife's sister. On the score of fosterage, he cannot marry his foster sister nor the daughter of his foster sister or foster brother.

102. On the other hand the union of first cousins is

Marriage of first Cousins. perhaps the most common of all the marriages. It has the advantages of previous acquaintance and of drawing the families closer together for offence and defence.

103. Six or twelve months after the betrothal—it is

Fixing the date of the marriage. largely a question of how soon the youth's father can get the necessary means together—a

date is fixed for the wedding, and the *lab* is paid over. The most propitious dates are the 4th, 7th, 14th, 24th and 27th of the month. Marriages are never solemnized during the month of Safar.

104. In the morning the youth's father calls together

Str, *wani singār* and *dāj*. his relatives, slaughters some sheep or goats—regulating their

number according to his means—cooks the meat and feeds the company. In the meantime the youth's mother and other kinswomen go to the maiden's house, carrying with them the *wani singār* or bride's array. They bathe the maiden and deck her out in the bridal apparel. In the afternoon the relatives on both sides foregather in the



maiden's house, and her father hands over to the youth's father the *dāj*, that is, the ornaments, clothes and household pots and pans, which he is giving his daughter to help to set up house. Each of the bride's kin presents her with a *chādar* or bedsheet. The ceremonies on this day are called *sir* or wedding. If the two houses are far apart, the youth's father slaughters sheep in the maiden's village and her kinsmen also join in the feast, while her father kills a goat or two the next morning, and feeds the united company.

105. When all the company are seated together after the feast, they call in a mulla. The mulla sends off two men into the women's apartment, and after them yet two more. It is the duty of the latter to ask the maiden : ' Do you consent to the marriage with so and so, the son of so and so and of *Musammāt* so and so ? ' It will be observed that the names of the youth, his father and his mother are all given in this query. The maiden nods assent. After they have thrice put their question in the hearing of the two witnesses, they ask her to nominate one of the two as her *wakil* or representative, and when the nomination has been made, they take their leave. On their return the mulla addresses them and says : ' Do you vouch that *Musammāt* so and so, daughter of so and so and of so and so, accepts so and so, the son of so and so and of so and so, as her husband ? ' And all four reply : ' We do. ' Thrice the mulla puts the question, and then enquires whom she has appointed as her *wakil*. Then he turns to the *wakil* and says : ' Do you agree to give so and so, the daughter of so and so and of so and so, to so and so, the son of so and so and of so and so ? ' giving the names of the contracting parties and of their parents in full. And the *wakil* assents. After the question has been repeated thrice, the mulla fixes the *haq-i-mahr* or dower, which ordinarily runs from ten to fifteen rupees. Then he reads the *nikāh* or marriage service.

106. After the *nikāh* they take the bride to the bride  
*Pallav-band.* groom's house, where the women  
of the family lead her into a room  
apart. Both the couple were decked out in new clothes for  
the wedding. Among the Bahāwalānzai the bride's apparel  
consists of an embroidered shirt, a *shalwār* of silk, and a  
silken *sari*; the groom wears a white shirt, a red *shalwār*  
and a white or gold-fringed *lungī*. When the groom tries  
to enter the bridal chamber, the *wakīl* blocks his way, and  
will not let him in till he promises that the *sawāb* or heavenly  
recompense for any alms he may hereafter bestow will be  
shared by himself and his bride in the proportion of two to  
one. As soon as he enters the apartment, his sister or some  
other kinswoman ties the ends of his sheet and the sheet of  
his bride together, and covers the couple up with the sheets,  
and slowly knocks their heads together three times. The  
knot is not undone until the groom has presented some cash  
or clothes to her who tied it. This is called *pallav-band* or  
the tying of the sheets. It forms, of course, no part of the  
religious ritual.

107. If both bride and groom are adult—and the marriage  
*Consummation.* is rarely performed till the one  
has passed her fourteenth and  
the other his sixteenth year—cohabitation begins the night  
after the *nikāh*, ablutions being performed the next morning.  
Before marriage intercourse is absolutely forbidden; parties  
indeed are not supposed even to see each other. If the  
bride is still a child, she must fulfil the custom so far as  
to go to the groom's house immediately after the *nikāh*,  
but consummation is postponed till puberty is reached.

108. The expenses on the groom's side amount to about  
*Expenses.* a hundred rupees over and above  
what has to be provided by way  
of *lab*. The expenses are incurred on the feasting and on  
clothes and ornaments for the bride. Eighty rupees or  
thereabouts are expended on the bride's side over the feast-  
ing and the ornaments, clothes and household articles given

in *dāj*. But these are only average figures ; much depends on the means and social position of the parties. The marriage expenses in Bahāwalānzai families are of course much heavier.

109. Though tribal custom used to allow more than the four wives sanctioned by *Sharīat*,  
 Polygamy, not counting concubines, reform has set in. Indeed in practice, most Marīs are monogamists owing to the heavy rate of bride-price. If a man has more than one wife, he gives each a separate dwelling and himself lives with his favourite, the *sohāgan* as she is called, paying the others (*dohāgan*) occasional visits.

110. The Bahāwalānzai section is strictly hypergamous,  
 Hypergamy, that is to say, their women marry up, or rather may not marry down. A Bahāwalānzai girl should marry a Bahāwalānzai, and one born in lawful wedlock. But if no suitable match offers itself, they may stretch a point and marry her into a chiefly family among the Mazāris, Drishks or Dōmbkīs. A Bahāwalānzai boy, on the other hand, may take his wife from any section of the Marīs, or from any other tribe, even from the Jats. But hypergamy holds good even further down the scale. A *wadēra* or *muḥaddam* would not give his daughter to a mere grazier of sheep and goats, even though he were a Marī, but to one of his own status. Nor would a Marī give his daughter to one of a different race, a Panjābi for instance, nor under any circumstances to one of a different religion.

111. If a man cannot get on with his wife, he can in the last resort divorce her, by thrice  
 Divorce, repeating the word *talāq* or divorce. But despite the sanction accorded by the Muhammadan Law, so great is the disgrace that accompanies a divorce that it hardly deserves to be regarded as customary in the tribe, except in the case of *surjels* or concubines. No portion of the *lab* is returned. Adultery is rarely the cause

of divorce, for the penalty for adultery is death. If, before any children are born of the union, the husband becomes impotent, the wife's parents may apply to the Chief, and he will arrange for the dissolution of the marriage. In such a case the parents will have to refund the whole of the *lab* to the husband.

112. A woman is not transferred permanently on marriage

from the parental to the conjugal  
Widow remarriage. household; for should her hus-

band die, she does not form part of the inheritance like her female children (§ 121), but returns after a decent interval to her former home. Should her parents be dead, she comes under the dominion of the heir or *wāris* of her father's inheritance. Her female children, on the other hand, go to her husband's heirs, though those of tender years will naturally remain with their mother for a season. All the widow takes with her from her husband's home are the clothes and ornaments given her by her parents on her marriage or thereafter. Hence no question arises of her remarriage to her deceased husband's brother or other relative of his. Her parents or guardians resume, in fact, the same powers of disposal of her person in marriage that they had before. They remarry her off where they please, and appropriate the *lab*. The only differences are that they can only look to get half the ordinary rate in *lab* (§ 98), and that the *sāṅg* or betrothal is dispensed with, the *nikaḥ* alone being sufficient. Among Bahāwalānzais a widow rarely remarries, and if she has made up her mind to do so, she signifies her intention by stitching a piece of red silk on to the front of her shirt.

113. They close the eyes and mouth of their dead,

Burial. straighten out the corpse, and  
carry it face, upwards on a bed-

stead or hurdle to the graveyard. Here a mulla washes the body, wraps it in a shroud, and reads the *nimā-i-jānāna* or burial service over it. Then the relatives give clothes and

cash in alms to the mulla, and commit the body to the earth. The body is so laid in the grave, which has been dug without ceremony beforehand, that the head lies to the north, and the face is turned to the *k'aba* or west. Then comes the *jwānsirī* or distribution of sweetmeats among the congregation and with the offering up of prayers they leave the graveyard. But before dispersing to their homes, they return to the house of the dead, to offer condolences to the bereaved family. The only difference made in the burial of a female is that the body is washed by the women and not by the mulla. The dead are buried on the march in much the same way, except that a pit is dug instead of a grave, and a goat or sheep is killed and cooked and distributed instead of the distribution of sweetmeats. In Kahān, the *khaṭ* or bedstead on which the dead has been carried to the grave is left outside the village on the return from the graveyard until it has been washed by the rain.

114. On the death of a Bahāwalānzai the relatives place a headdress on the corpse, a *lungī* if it be male, and a silk *sari* if female. These are removed at the time of burial and given to the mulla. When the body is about to be carried to the grave, they lay a *sur shān* or golden thread on the face of the dead from the tip of the nose to the forehead. As the body is being taken out of the gate of the house, eight or ten rupees cut up into four pieces are flung over it. These are picked up by the poor, and serve as charms to ward off evil spirits and the evil eye from little children. The only difference in the burial of a Chief is that his grave is dug deeper, and a higher mound raised over it.

115. When a man is murdered, his body is buried in the graveyard in the usual manner, but on the place where he was murdered, they raise a *chhēdagh* or heap of stones about three feet high. Such a *chhēdagh* is also raised on battlefields and also—and this seems curious—in memory of men who die childless. Similar heaps of stones are erected to mark some

cowardly deed and are known as *l'an* or *phit dheri*—a heap of reproach. They can be distinguished from the ordinary *chhēdagh* by the black stones which are inserted in them; the others are strewn with greenish stones.

116. Mourning (*siḡh*) is divided up into two periods, each of which varies in length according to the sex and degree of relationship of the deceased. During the first period of strict mourning, which lasts for five days on the death of adult males and near kin, and for three days in the case of women and children and distant kin, they do not clean their hair, wear new clothes or participate in high days and holidays. If a Thursday happens to fall within this period, a few mullas are called in and fed. During these days visits of condolence are paid by friends living in neighbourhood. A widow stitches a line of black thread about three inches long on her shirt, and other females closely related to the family stitch similar but smaller lines as signs of mourning. The end of this period is marked by the ceremony of *āsraḡh* which consists of the cooking and distribution of meat and the offering up of prayers. During the second period, which though known as *sāl* or year lasts for seven months in the case of males or nine in the case of some big man, and for five in the case of women and children, visits of condolence are paid by friends living at a distance. They are given two meals by the afflicted family, and offer one to two rupees in return. At the close of this period, there is a second distribution of cooked meats. Among the Bahāwalzai food is given to the mullas every Tuesday during the first year after the death of a male member of the sept.

### VIII.—Customary Law.

117. A woman taken in adultery is slain with her paramour. Indeed actual proof is regarded as superfluous; mere suspicion on the husband's part is enough to justify him or a near relative or the woman's father or brother inflicting the



penalty of death on the couple. Nor is the penalty confined to married women; unchastity on the part of a widow, a betrothed girl, or a virgin is treated in the selfsame way.

118. If the seducer makes good his escape, he takes refuge outside the Marí country, and only ventures to return after his people have begged for peace on his behalf and persuaded the injured husband to accept the customary compensation, to wit a maiden (known as *sāng* or *dōstī*) or Rs. 600 in cash, a sword (or Rs. 20), a gun (or Rs. 30) and Rs. 500 in cash. The compensation for abducting a woman is Rs. 2,000 in cash, two maidens or *sāngs*, two swords and two guns.

119. There were—and still are—three main causes of feud: land, water and woman. Feuds, and the greatest of these is woman. The feud started normally between family and family, and often spread to the sub-sections and sections, until the whole tribe was embroiled. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, blood for blood, this was the order of the day, and murder followed murder *ad infinitum*. As between tribe and tribe, so between family and family, or section and section, a truce might be patched by a solemn oath on the Koran, which could only be broken after a formal repudiation of it.

120. It did not take the tribe long to realize that this law of retaliation, for all its simple attractiveness and appeal to the natural instincts, must in the end lead towards race-suicide, and an elaborate system of compensation early began to take its place. Here are the current rates : for a life Rs. 800, for an eye Rs. 100, for a tooth Rs. 40, for a hand or foot Rs. 60 to 120. The rates apply equally to all tribesmen with the exception of the Bahāwalānzai. In this chiefly and sacrosanct section there has, so far, been only one case. Shāh Bakhsh Resāldār of Levies at Hōsri was in August 1907 murdered by a gang of 18 Bijārāni Maris. Of these, two men were

sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment each, two to four years' rigorous imprisonment each; and the remainder had to pay Rs. 4,000 as compensation, give three guns, three swords and three maidens (*dōsti*) in marriage to the heirs of Shāh Bakhs. The blood-money for a *hāmsāya*—including a Jatt, a Jat and a serf—is Rs. 300. But the blood feud dies hard, though the tribal conscience is against it.

121. The tribal laws of inheritance have little in common

with the canon laws of *Shariat*.  
Exclusion of females.

Not the least striking feature is the exclusion of women from inheritance. Daughters indeed are regarded as part of the inheritance itself. So absolute is their exclusion of females, that it affects even males who can trace relationship on the female side only. Succession descends, in fact, to male agnates alone.

122. Two main principles underlie the rules of inheritance.

Among the Maris a  
The joint family. father normally forms with his

sons a joint family. The joint family usually breaks up by fissure into other joint families on the death of the fathers; but any son who cannot get on with his father or brothers, or who wishes to set up house and home for himself on marriage, may ask for separation and a division of the movable property. On partition the father divides up the movable property into as many shares as there are sons, *plus* two shares for himself. Thus, supposing he has five sons, of whom one wishes to separate off, he divides the movable property into seven shares, and one share, *i.e.*, a seventh of the whole, is given to the son who breaks off from the family. It is not necessary for partition that the wife or wives of the father of the house should be past the age of child-bearing. Nor can a father revoke a partition once it is made. Should a son be born after the partition, he is entitled to his share in the property in the possession of the joint family; he has no rights whatever in the property of

the brother who broke away from it. Naturally the latter in taking his share and cutting himself off from the family, cuts himself off at the same time from all rights in the inheritance of the movable property hereafter. His rights in the tribal land held by the family remain, of course, unimpaired.

123. This leads on to the other main principle underlying the tribal laws of succession. The rights of the father, in the immovable property, pass inalienably to his male issue born of lawful wedlock. He cannot, for instance, entail the estate on the eldest son, or the sons of a favourite wife, or disinherit a son who has fallen out with him. The right of representing the father in the inheritance belongs to one and all alike.\* If it is a question of the inheritance of rights he actually enjoyed, they inherit equally. If it is a question of the inheritance of rights to which he would have become entitled had he lived to enjoy them, they inherit jointly. Thus if A dies leaving three sons, they inherit in equal shares. But if there was a fourth son who predeceased his father and left sons of his own behind him, these sons jointly inherit the share that would have fallen to their father but for his death. The property is divided up into four shares; A's surviving sons get one each, and the fourth share is enjoyed jointly by the group of grandsons as representing the rights of their deceased father. In other words the inheritance goes not *per capita* but *per stirpes*.

124. The following order of precedence among the heirs will thus be found to be based on an intelligible system:—

Rules of inheritance.

- (1). Sons, and deceased sons' sons. (a) If a man had one son only, that son, if alive, is his sole heir.
- (b) If he had several sons, all of whom survive him, the sons inherit in equal shares.
- (c) If one or

\* There is of course one inevitable exception to this rule in the case of a hereditary office like the Chieftainship which goes by primogeniture.

more of the sons predecease him leaving male issue, each son and each group of fatherless grandsons inherit in equal shares.

This applies in the normal joint family to all forms of property, movable and immovable, ancestral or acquired, even though acquired by one or other of the sons. But should one of the family have separated himself off, he is debarred in the existence of heirs of the same standing who have remained in the joint family, from the inheritance of the ancestral immovable property.

(2). Father, father's sons, father's deceased sons' sons (*i.e.*, father, brothers, fatherless nephews). Failing direct male issue, the father, if alive, inherits equally with his sons, (the brothers), and any group or groups of fatherless grandsons, (the nephews). Here again the right to inheritance in the movable property depends on membership in the joint family.

(3). Father's brothers, father's deceased brothers' sons, *i.e.*, failing direct male issue, father, brothers or nephews, the inheritance goes to uncles and fatherless first cousins.

125. Written wills are unknown. But a deathbed bequest of movable property for a religious object and even other-

wise is valid, if made before two trustworthy witnesses while still in full possession of senses. A man may also bequeath in his lifetime by mere word of mouth some movable property, ornaments, cash and the like, to his wife. Such property devolves at her death on her son or sons, and failing male issue, on her father or brother.

126. A man may make a gift (*baklsh*) of the whole or part of his land and water, though not of water from a hill-torrent. Such a gift would hold good in perpetuity in

regard to such land as he had acquired by purchase. If the recipient is not a member of the tribe, it carries with it the right to graze on the pasture grounds, but does not carry with it any right to participate in the division of the tribal lands. A gift of tribal land may be made to any member of the tribe, but to no one else. And it only holds good till the next periodical division of the tribal lands.

127. Though excluded from the inheritance, widows are entitled to maintenance so long as they remain under the deceased's roof, or remarry, and do not prove unchaste. Ordinarily however they return to their parental roof. Concubines are not entitled to maintenance. But if a concubine were actually married to the deceased, she would be so entitled, and any male issue born in lawful wedlock would rank with other sons as heirs. Daughters are entitled to maintenance till marriage.

128. The mother is obviously the proper person for the custody of her young children. Thus, though step-children are not strictly entitled to maintenance from a step-father, it is customary for them to remain with their mother and to be fed by her until they are at least five years old.

129. A lad is a minor until he reaches the age of eighteen. The guardianship of the person of a fatherless minor and the administration of his property devolve on his elder brother, or in his absence, on his uncles, or failing any such near relative, on some person appointed at the Chief's pleasure. In no circumstances, may a guardian alienate land belonging to his ward. If sisters form part of his ward's inheritance, they come automatically under his guardianship. He is entitled and expected to arrange for their marriage, but the *lab* or bride-price goes, of course, into the ward's estate.

130. The right of pre-emption only exists in cases where the proprietorship is joint. Thus, suppose a plot of land with water

Right of pre-emption.

is held by two co-sharers, and the one wishes to dispose of his share either by sale or by mortgage with possession to some third party, his correct procedure will be to offer the land to his partner on the terms to which the third party has agreed. If his partner declines the offer, the transfer may be finally made. But should the transfer be made behind the partner's back, he can claim his right of pre-emption within one month of the date of transfer. If it is not admitted, he can appeal to the Chief, who will give him the land on his paying to the third party the price paid for the land. If he allege that the price was not fixed in good faith, the point is one for settlement by oath on the Koran.

### IX.—Weights and Measures, etc.

131. They count up to twenty and then usually by tens.

Number.	Thus fifty is <i>dō bist-ō-dāh</i> , two twenties and ten.
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132. Grain measures.

4 <i>pinkī</i>	=	3 seers	=	6 lbs.
2 <i>ṭāpā</i>	=	6 „	=	12 lbs.
2 <i>dōṭāpā</i>	=	12 „	=	24 lbs.
60 <i>kāṣā</i>	=	18 mds.	=	1,440 lbs.

133. Land is simply measured by the amount a *ṭāṭā*  
Land measures. or pair of oxen can plough.

134. The year is divided up into three seasons : *samistān*,  
Seasons. winter, *bōrka*, spring, *ahar*, summer. The two crops are *Nālī*

(spring) and *Suhēl* (autumn).

135. The day is divided into four *pahr* : *gāil* (down to  
Division of the day. 9 a.m.), *nēm rōsh* (9 a.m. to noon),  
*pēshī* (noon to 3 p.m.) and *digar*

(3 p.m. to dusk).

136. The coins are the British coins with these local  
Coins. names :—

				Local Name.
Pie	...	...	...	<i>Pai.</i>
1½ pie	...	...	...	<i>Dhela.</i>



	Local Name.			
Pice ... ..	...	...	...	<i>Paisāk.</i>
Double pice ... ..	...	...	...	<i>Takā.</i>
2 annas ... ..	...	...	...	<i>Shāhī.</i>
4 annas ... ..	...	...	...	<i>Pāoli.</i>
$\frac{1}{2}$ rupee ... ..	...	...	...	<i>Abbāsī.</i>
Rupee ... ..	...	...	...	<i>Rōpaiya.</i>

137. They generally make their purchases by barter for grain but in a roundabout way, first reducing the value of grain and proposed purchase to terms of cash. Thus, if a man wants to buy cloth valued at Rs. 5, and wheat is going at twenty seers to the rupee, he will barter 100 seers or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  maunds of wheat for the cloth.

Current rates.

138. The current rates are roughly these:—

Cow ... ..	...	...	Rs. 30.
Goat or sheep ... ..	...	...	Rs. 1 to Rs. 4.
Fowl ... ..	...	...	Annas 4 to Annas 8.
Salt ... ..	...	...	12 seers to the rupee.
<i>Khurmā</i> (dates) ... ..	...	...	3 seers do.
<i>Ghi</i> ... ..	...	...	$\frac{3}{4}$ seer do.

A knife is valued at Re. 1 to Rs. 4, a sword at Rs. 4 to Rs. 100, a gun at Rs. 10 to Rs. 120, a serf at about Rs. 200, a handmaid at Rs. 500, a wife at Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,000.

## X.—Miscellaneous.

139. Lots are usually cast with sheep or goat droppings, on which each man has made his mark. The umpire first identifies each man's mark, and adds yet another dropping, with no mark at all, called *shāhid*, as a witness, no doubt, to the fairness of the operation. He then shakes the lots, which are called *tir*, in his closed fists, and takes them out one by one. The man whose dropping comes out last has lost his claim.



## KHETRĀN BALŌCH.

(Chiefly from material compiled by the late L. Harī Rām,  
Tahsildār Bārkhān.)

### I.—Tribal History, Constitution, etc.

1. The strength of the Khetrān tribe was returned as 14,153 at the Census of 1911, the bulk (12,926) being found in Lōṛalai, with 1,225 in Sibi and 2 in Quetta-Pishin. The headquarters of the tribe is in Bārkhān, where no less than 12,166 were enumerated.

2. The tribe, which is known by the Balōch name *tuman*, is divided up into three clans called *ḡhuk* (*ḡak*, *ḡag* or *ḡhir*), each of which is sub-divided into several *lāh* or sections, *phallī* or sub-sections, and *kahōl* (or *ḡabar*) or family-groups. Two of the clans, the Ispānī, (to which the chiefly section, the Mazārānī belongs) and the *Phallēt* are known collectively as Ganjarā—possibly the name of some eponymous hero, at any rate, no one seems to have a better suggestion to offer. The name is used of these two clans in contradiction to the Dharā, whose name is supposed to be derived from *dharā*, a heap. As a matter of fact there seems little to choose between all three in the matter of homogeneity, and though the Dharā or “heap” certainly contains Jat elements, it also seems to contain more true Balōch than the rest of the *tuman* put together. The strength of the main divisions is as follows:—

DHARĀ ...	5,521	ISPĀNĪ ...	3,937
<i>Bahlōl</i> ...	12	<i>Auliānī</i> ...	225
<i>Chacha</i> ...	113	<i>Bunārḡnī</i> ...	176
<i>Dahmānī</i> ...	805	<i>Kāsmānī</i> ...	808
<i>Hasnī</i> ...	2,314	<i>Lanjānī</i> ...	242
<i>Maḡ</i> ...	353	<i>Luhma</i> ...	507
<i>Shēkh</i> ...	344	<i>Mazārānī</i> ...	642
<i>Sūnman</i> ...	965	<i>Nāhar</i> ...	989
<i>Waga</i> ...	603	<i>Sadrānī</i> ...	334
<i>Unspecified.</i>	12	<i>Unspecified...</i>	14

PHALLĒT	...	4,693	<i>Rāhtar</i>	...	804
<i>Ishāyī</i>	...	707	<i>Sadīkhāyī</i>	...	526
<i>Muhmur</i>	...	289	<i>Zakriānī</i>	...	266
<i>Rabbāyī</i>	...	2,101	OTHERS	...	2

3. In the Khetrān we have the curious spectacle of a tribe with a Jājki language and a weird Hindu vein running through its domestic customs, with vague traditions of Pathān origin and still vaguer traditions of Hindu connection, nevertheless making good its claims to Balōch status, not on the grounds of Balōch blood (to which only few sections can lay pretensions) but on the grounds of Balōch dress, manners and tribal constitution. Nor is the acknowledgment which the great Balōch tribes extend to these claims academic only; it takes the eminently practical shape of matrimonial alliances. As for traditions—Mazārānī, the chiefly section of the *tuman*, trace descent from Mazār, a Tarin, who fled to Bārkhān from his home in Vihōa (in Dēra Ghāzi Khān) to escape the clutches of some Mughal Emperor, whose wrath he had roused by harbouring a goldsmith who had embezzled money and jewels from the State treasury. But there are also traditions of descent not from Tarin, but from his brother Miāna, the son of Sharkhūn, the son of Saraban, the son of Qais Abdur Rashid—a tradition which appears to have solid foundation in the presence of the Selāchī and Maṭ-sections: for the latter are Laṭ Pathān, and Laṭ and Silāj were both sons of Miāna. And lastly there are persistent but muffled traditions of descent from Khetrān, the son of Rām, a Khatrī chieftain who lived in the Gōmal and set the Mughals at defiance until he had to retire to Vihōa. There seems a germ of truth in all three traditions, though one can hardly hope to piece the real story together at this late date. It is quite possible that various Miāna and Tarin sections broke off from the main stocks and, ousted from their ancient home, migrated eastwards, where they stayed long enough to

become so mixed up with Jatt elements and especially with Jatt women, and so infected by their Balōch environment, that on their return eastward they returned not only with their numbers reinforced by Jatt and Balōch recruits, but with a Jatt language, a Hindu tincture in their domestic customs, and what is more important still, with a Balōch constitution, and Balōch dress and manners. \*That the word has any direct connection with Khetrān, the son of Rām the Khatri or even with *khet*, a field—both common suppositions even among scholars—I very much doubt. Nobody, I suppose, but the Pajhān himself treats his ancient genealogies as gospel, but when they are ordinarily accepted for practical purposes in other cases, I fail to understand the conspiracy of silence regarding Niāmat Ullah's explicit statement in the *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* \* that Kahtrān (possibly connected with *khtar*, the 'younger') was the son of Ashkun, the son of Miāna, especially when the modern version of the eponymous hero's name is so easily explained as being the form imposed by folk-etymology during the stay of the tribe in a Jatt-speaking country.

4. The only tribal officers are the Chief, who is generally known as *saridār* not *tumandār*, Tribal Officers. and the clan leaders, known as *mukaddam* among the Ganjārā, and as *wadēra* in the Dharā clan.

## II.—Religion.

5. They are all Sunnī by profession. But during the first three days of the Muharram Sect. the lads make slight cuts on their arms with a razor and go from house to house crying out *Jaunse! Jaunse!*—doubtless a corruption of *yā Husain!* The householders send them away with a little grain or some other small gift, and the lads gorge themselves with sweetmeats got with their earnings. But the game, which appears to be a survival of earlier Shi'ah

\* Dorn's History of the Afghāns, Part II, page 2.

tendencies in the *tuman*, is now dying out owing to the influence of the mullas who condemn it as heresy.

6. The Mahmādāni Shēkh are a sacred sub-section of the

Sacred Section.

Dhārā clan, claiming Sayyid descent, and even Hindus seek

their aid in their difficulties. They owe their sanctity to their ancestor Shēkh Mahmād, whose shrine at Dathaj in Laghāri Bārkhan is much venerated. A Shēkh is especially useful in cases of sickness. The first thing he does when he is called in to cure a patient, is to order a sheep to be slain and its meat distributed in alms. Then to the music of the flute and the drum he comes slowly towards the sick bed, swinging his body to and fro, with a mad leap every now and then. And he shakes the sick man violently and pretends to gnaw his belly with his teeth, as if he were eating the disease away. Then he stands near the head of the bed, and utters loud cries and falls down senseless. The people of the house rush up to massage him back to consciousness, and when he comes round they reverentially bow him out of the house with a present.

7. It is hardly out of place to treat of hospitality here,

Hospitality.

for hospitality is regarded as a religious duty. Even an enemy

who claims hospitality is entertained and treated with the utmost courtesy. The expenses of hospitality (*nāfhi*) are borne rateably by the community according to the shares in land and water. In the old days any one who declined to pay his share was turned out of his house and out of the village, and the water was cut off from his lands.

8. There are three recognized forms of *sahdu* or oath :

Oaths.

the oath of innocence, which is made in a mosque by repeating

the *kalima* with hand on Koran and face turned to the west; the oath of asseveration, which is made in the name of a saint : and the oath of covenant, which is made in open

assembly by the name of a saint or on a Koran which is placed in the midst.

9. To meet a funeral, to be called back by a loud voice, to hear a donkey bray, to see a  
 Superstitions. fox or a snake—and more espe-

cially a black snake—all these are highly unlucky for a man setting out on a journey. If a snake is seen in a house within the first forty days after a birth, it's a bad look-out for the infant. If possible, they kill the snake; but should it escape, they get hold of a dead snake from outside, and dip its tail in water, and sprinkle the infant with it. If a child micturates in its sleep, it is made to lick flour from a handmill. The evil eye is warded off with burnt alum (*phajharî*). The grinding of the teeth is a bad sign; it is remedied by sticking a bit of sheep's vein in one of the ear-rings. An excellent charm against tertian or quartan fever is to tie a thread taken from the chief's garments round one's neck.

10. Certain sub-sections of the Nāhar section have a  
 Tabu. curious tabu; they may not partake of food cooked outside village limits; if they fall in with a party cooking their food by the road, not only will they not join in, but will consider it as well to be on the safe side by keeping as far away from them as possible. In olden days the women were strictly forbidden to grind corn on their handmills when the menfolk were out on a raid, because the noise of the grinding would cause confusion in the fighting ranks.

### III.—Domestic Customs.

11. On the occasion of a woman's first pregnancy, the  
 fact is formally communicated to  
 the neighbourhood in the seventh  
*Salwān.* month by distributing either a kind of bread called *bhusri* made of wheaten flour, ghi and molasses, or else a pottage of boiled wheat called *kōhal*. This custom, which is not repeated at any subsequent pregnancy, is properly observ-



ed on the seventh day of the seventh month; hence its name *salwān* or 'seventh.'

12. The woman helps on her labour by tugging at a woollen rope hung from the ceiling.

Birth.

The birth of a son is celebrated by the distribution of molasses and sugarcandy. The babe is washed forthwith, and is given a little juice extracted from olive leaves. It is first suckled by another mother with a daughter at her breast. Asses'dung diluted in water is sprinkled on the babe's clothes, and some is kept under the cot for a few days to ward off the evil eye. The term of the mother's uncleanness is forty days. She is then washed, and boiled wheat, pulse and Indian corn are distributed among the neighbours.

13. The ears are pierced on the third day. In the case of

Ear-piercing.

a boy one hole is bored in each ear, and the nose is occasionally pierced as well. But a girl's ears are bored in several places. The ears are kept threaded for some time.

14. The child is given its name on the seventh day. A

Name-giving.

boy is generally called after some dead forbear, the name being uttered in his ear either by one of the kin or a mulla. The alms distributed on this occasion are called *dhām*.

15. Some people make comparatively little fuss over the

Shaving of the head.

first shaving of a boy's head, their only concern being that the man entrusted with the shaving must have both parents living. But others make a vow to shave the child at the shrine of some saint on the seventh day of the seventh month. Until this day comes round, the mother may eat no flesh, nor may the child move from the locality it was born in. On the great day the child is taken to the shrine, where the shaving is performed, a sheep killed and the meat given in alms. But the mother is only allowed to partake of the lungs. Not until she reaches home, may she eat flesh.

16. If the child is ungainly when it begins to walk, they slaughter a sheep, and wrap the entrails round his feet, and then cut them through with a sharp knife.

Learning to walk.

17. When a boy is circumcised, they burn a rag and dress the wound with the ashes and keep him in bed for a few days until the wound is healed. To protect him from harm a gold or silver ornament is hung round his neck, or else an antimony pot and a sword are kept on his bed. No woman with child or other unclean person should come near him, for the very sound of their voices would do him some mischief. The lad requires protection for forty days.

Circumcision.

18. All girls are circumcised between the age of four and seven. The operation is carried out very secretly in a dark room by an old woman, and consists in the mutilation of the *tizi* (the clitoris presumably), which is then treated with ointment. The wound is said to heal within three days. It is considered advisable to let the patient drink as little water as possible.

19. A lad is breeched at eight or ten—a somewhat early date, as the wearing of the first trousers is usually regarded as the outward sign of puberty. The first trousers are red, and should properly be presented by the maternal uncle. In his absence any male relative may act for him.

First trousers.

20. Plurality of wives is uncommon. As a general rule the tribesmen marry within the *tuman*, only going outside its limits when no suitable match is obtainable. If possible they marry within their own brotherhood, but are of course punctilious in their observance of the prohibited degrees of Islām. As a matter of fact they are not over-particular in the choice of their wives, for it appears to be not uncommon for them to take girls from the lower classes, like shoemakers, blacksmiths, Dōm, Gagra, and Chanāl, though nobody would

Of marriage in general.

dream of giving one of his own daughters to such an inferior. In the same way, the chiefly section of the Mazārānī takes wives freely from the ordinary tribesmen, but declines to reciprocate, marrying off its daughters either within its own limits or to big folk outside the *tuman*.

21. The bride-price appears to be a comparatively modern innovation. It is true the Mazārānī, when contracting a marriage within their own section, have long been in the habit of giving three or four hundred rupees to the girl's father. But this is spent on the marriage ceremonies, and any balance left over he gives to the bride as dowry with something more out of his own pocket. And when the Mazārānī give their girls in marriage outside the *tuman* to some chiefly family among the Laghārī, Bugīī or Mari, the bride-price is higher still, and may amount to as much as Rs. 3,000. All of it is supposed to be spent on the wedding festivities.

22. But this was not the old custom in the *tuman* at large. Here the regular practice was *vaṭāndrā* or marriage by exchange. Bride-price was, however, present in the germ even then. For, if one party had a full-grown girl of unusual attractions to dispose of, and the other could only offer a mere child or a girl of indifferent looks in exchange, the balance was adjusted by a payment of sorts called *ḡal*. And though marriage by exchange is common among the tribe even now, bride-price had become a recognized custom by the time of the British occupation. It then stood at the modest sum of seven rupees, with a cow thrown in. It soon mounted to about Rs. 150, and has since continued to rise, until it is now no uncommon thing for it to touch five hundred or even a thousand rupees. We are told on all hands that the increase is due partly to the increase of money in the country, partly to a decrease in the proportion of females now that the number of the males is no longer subject to the drain of tribal warfare.

23. The bride's parents on the other hand present clothes, ornaments, a cow, a camel or a mare and other household necessities to help the young couple to set up house. The ordinary value of this *ghar* or dowry amounts to Rs. 160, but may be much larger among the well-to-do.

24. Marriage is almost always postponed till the girl is at least twelve and the youth a couple of years older. Betrothal, of course, is often contracted much earlier. In fact betrothal before birth—*irjâl-döstî*, 'friendship's return,' as it is called—is quite common. There are several recognized forms. If a youth is unable to pay up more than a portion of the bride-price of the girl he is after, he offers to make up the balance with a girl born of his wedlock. Or if he has no money at all, he may be able to persuade the parents to give him his bride and wait for both girl and money till he secures them. In such a case should the girl die before she is weaned, he must give another when it arrives. But should the girl die after she has been weaned, the other party must stand the loss. Unborn girls are also commonly awarded as compensation for adultery and for the infliction of physical injuries.

25. According to old custom some menial should act as go-between in the fixing up of a normal Ordinary betrothal. betrothal, but it is now-a-days growing the fashion for the boy's kinsmen to take this duty on themselves. As soon as the preliminary negotiations have been settled, the boy's parents proceed on the appointed day with a deputation of eight or nine kinsmen and influential friends to the girl's house, and if they happen to arrive at meal-time, they are given food. Then a sheep is slaughtered, its cost being furnished by the boy's party among ordinary tribesmen, but by the girl's family among the Mazârânî. When the terms of the betrothal have been finally thrashed out, molasses are distributed among the company, a gun is fired, and the boy's party presents a *châdar* or wrapper to the girl and her mother, and also a gold or silver coin for a locket

to be hung on the girl's forehead. The girl's party returns the compliment by presenting a wrapper to the boy's mother or, if she is not present, to the lady who took her place. Instead of presenting a wrapper some prefer to remit ten or twelve rupees of the bride-price, of which only forty or fifty rupees are actually paid over at the betrothal.

26. A betrothal can be broken off even after the slaying of the sheep. But once the molasses  
The binding portion. have been distributed, the gun fired and the wrapper presented to the maiden, the betrothal is regarded as irrevocable, at any rate on the maiden's side, for these are the binding portions of the ceremony. Of course betrothals sometimes fall through without further fuss. Thus a rupture between the families will break off a betrothal by exchange as a matter of course. Nor does there seem to be much to prevent the boy's party from repudiating a betrothal at any time; and though they will have to make good any expenses that have been incurred on it, they are entitled to the refund of any bride-price that has been paid over to the girl's parents.

27. The amount of the bride-price is the chief item in the betrothal settlement. But the parties  
The settlement. may also come to definite terms regarding the possible contingency of the death of either boy or girl before the marriage. As a rule, it is agreed that neither party should be entitled to claim a refund of any of their expenses in that event, though it is occasionally stipulated that any bride-price that has been paid up should be refunded in the case of the girl's death. Now-a-days, owing to the scarcity of women, there is a tendency to introduce the system known as *sarivari* in the betrothal settlement, according to which a widow reverts to her parents on widowhood. One would have thought that such a condition would mean a drop in the bride-price, but this is supposed not to be the case.

28. A week after the betrothal the girl's party send over a present known as *pūchchī dī badrī aur khōyē dī sutrī aur mundrī*, which consists of a leather bag, a gold or silver ring, and occasionally a string of shells and rosettes. The bag is for the youth to store his flour in on his travels; the ring is for his finger, and the string of shells is to hang his shield up with.

29. In due course two of the boy's party go over to the girl's home to ask if everything is ready for the wedding, and a definite date is then fixed. Now the auspicious days of the month for marriage are the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 21st, 22nd, 24th, 25th and 27th; on the other hand the following seasons are avoided:—the first thirteen days of the month of Safar, the *dāhā* or first ten days and in fact the whole of the Muharram, the month of Ramzān, and the *triji bhēn* or the month of May.

30. A few days before the wedding the youth's father sends over wheat and sheep and other provisions to the girl's house. The wheat is distributed among the villagers for grinding, according to the custom called *bēhāra*.

31. The first ceremony on the wedding morning is what is variously known as *mēhri tōrnā* or *gānā tōrnā*, the thread-breaking. The bride is seated in a corner surrounded by her playmates, and a black woollen thread is tied firmly to her hair; the custom is varied in some sections by tying a green or red silken thread to her right wrist. The company then take sides: all the married folk range themselves on one side and the bachelors and spinsters over against them on the other. And a fight ensues between them; the married fight on behalf of the groom, striving to break the thread, while the unmarried champion the bride against their assault. In the old days guns used to be fired

in the contest; but this piece of realism has dropped out owing to a serious accident that occurred some time ago, and the fight is now confined to pushes and buffets. In the end the married gain the mastery, amid feigned weeping on the part of the mother and other kinswomen of the bride, and the only question that remains is who will succeed in covering himself with glory as the actual breaker of the thread. After the exertions of the fight they regale themselves with some of the good fare brought by the groom's party. This custom is now said to be on the wane.

32. Meanwhile the converse process of *gānā bāndhnū* or the tying of the thread is going on in the groom's house. An iron ring and a blue cloth are attached to his wrist by a thread, and others are threaded to a handmill.

33. Combs, needles, reels of thread and thimbles are distributed by the bride among her playmates; and in return they make her a present called *thālī*, which consists of a measure or so of wheat. Then the bride goes out into the open with her maidens to swing. According to the older custom the girls ran away and hid, and the father had no little difficulty in getting the bride to come back by nightfall.

34. Before the bride is arrayed in her bridal apparel, her whole body is anointed with *ḍāṭan*, a cosmetic made of turmeric, barley flour, cloves and *kach kachūr* (*aruna reclinata*). The old clothes doffed by the groom are given to a minstrel or shoemaker, all except the turban. To let a menial wear one's cast-off turban would be undignified; so he's given a new turban instead.

35. The groom's party arrives at the bride's house in the evening. Sheep are slain for the feast. But there are two other important dishes: *sattūn*, a sort of porridge made of wheaten flour, sugar and



water, and *pāṭ*, wheaten bread covered with sugar and ghee. When the feast is over, the groom or his father puts a sum of money, which may range from five to fifty rupees, into the dish. This is an old custom called *rachh*, and is looked upon as an essential act of courtesy.

36. The *nikāḥ* is read about midnight. The bride as usual appoints some friend of the family to act as her *wakil* or representative during the ceremony.

37. On the party's arrival at the groom's house a sheep is killed. The heart is cooked first of all, and a mulla is called in to read a charm over it. It is then cut in half, and divided between the bridal couple, who eat it and so grow one in love. Then the flesh is cooked, and seven married women are called forth from the company to partake of it. No woman who has been widowed or divorced or married for the second time is allowed among the seven. Then the bridal couple take food out of the same dish. This custom is called *hāth bōṛānī*.

38. In the old days the bride was treated as a guest in the groom's house for the first night, and cohabitation was deferred. But this custom is now obsolete.

39. The dead are buried with the usual Musalmān rites ; but no funeral prayers are read over an infant less than four days old. The first stroke made at the digging of the grave should come from the hand of a shoemaker ; for the hand of the shoemaker is cold, and some say that so will the grief of the mourners grow cool, and others that Death will cool its ardour and spare the survivors. A stone is erected at the head of a female's grave ; there is a second stone at the foot of the grave of a male.

40. Over the shroud of a chief his relatives and other big men in the *tuman* throw some *lungi* or scarves as a mark of respect, when the body is carried out to the graveyard. The scarves go to the mulla. Sheep, goats and oxen are slaughtered after the burial, and the meat is distributed among all who took part in the funeral procession.

41. For three days the stricken family keep to their house to receive condolences. The period for condolence is of course extended more or less indefinitely for those who live at a distance. Visitors from afar, who are obliged to put up for the night in the village, bring a sheep with them and hand it over to the first person they meet, to slaughter and roast for them. This custom, which is known as *fātiḥa jhalnā* is not always strictly observed, cash being sometimes given for the purchase of a sheep in the village.

42. The period of mourning is a week for a babe, a month for a child, and three months for an adult. During the mourning no new clothes are worn, nor are the old clothes washed for the first forty days. The hair is not combed; the beards are not touched with henna; no new work is taken in hand; all amusements, feastings and marriage festivities are eschewed.

#### IV.—Customary Law.

43. The correct settlement of adultery according to strict old custom was to kill both wife and paramour. This settlement had the merit of simplicity and finality, for no compensation was then claimable on either side. If both escaped, the paramour was allowed to retain the woman on payment of Rs. 180 and one *dōsti* or unborn girl to the husband. If the woman only was killed, the settlement, which was known as *chaḥī*, was precisely the same—as was only natural as the husband suffered identically the same loss in both cases.

If the paramour only was killed, his heirs were given possession of the woman, but had to pay Rs. 90 to the husband. Though the right to kill the guilty couple is still recognized, the ordinary settlement now-a-days is for the paramour to pay Rs. 200\* to the husband and Rs. 100 as a fine. The woman goes back to her husband and is then divorced, and remarried to some one outside the husband's clan.

44. The ancient rate of blood-money was Rs. 400 and

Murder and theft. two *disti* or Rs. 200 a head for the unborn girls. It is now

Rs. 1,500\* in all. In the old days a thief had to make good the value of his theft fourfold.

45. As is usual in Baluchistān, the females have no right

Inheritance. of inheritance; any little thing that is given them is given them

by favour and is known as *pīlī* (wrapper). The widow and the daughters are of course maintained out of the deceased's estate for the excellent reason that they usually form one of the most valuable assets in it. The order of succession which is strictly confined to the male agnates is as follows, each main group excluding all succeeding main groups:—

I (a) Son ... .. the whole.

(b) Sons ... .. equally (whether by the same mother or not; but the son of a *hānīs* or concubine is excluded).

(c) Sons and deceased sons' sons *per stirpes*.

(d) Deceased sons' sons ... *per stirpes*.

II Father ... .. the whole.

III (a) Brother ... .. the whole.

(b) Brothers ... .. equally (but only brothers of the full blood; brothers by a different mother are excluded).

\* This is the rate among the Khetrāns themselves. With other tribes they have different rates.

- |    |                             |     |     |                     |
|----|-----------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|
| IV | (a) Father's brother        | ... | ... | the whole.          |
|    | (b) Father's brothers       | ... | ... | <i>per capita.</i>  |
| V  | (a) Brother's son           | ... | ... | the whole.          |
|    | (b) Brother's sons          | ... | ... | <i>per stirpes.</i> |
| VI | (a) Father's brother's son  | ... | ... | the whole.          |
|    | (b) Father's brother's sons | ... | ... | <i>per stirpes.</i> |

46. Partition can be effected in the father's lifetime with the father's consent. He cannot exclude any of his sons, nor can

Partition.  
 he mete out preferential treatment. Father and sons share and share alike. If sons are born to the father subsequent to the partition, no fresh redistribution is made; they simply inherit the father's individual share on his death.

47. The right of pre-emption obtains with regard to both  
 Pre-emption. land and water.

## THE MANDŌKHĒL (PAṆĪ) PATHĀNS.

*(Edited chiefly from material collected by Rūi Sāhib Lālā  
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### I.—Tribal History, Constitution, etc.

1. The strength of the tribe was returned at the Census  
of 1911 as 4,944 souls, of whom  
Strength. 2,653 were males and 2,291  
females. They were almost all enumerated in Zhōb. A  
certain number of the tribesmen, however, notably of the  
Hārūnzai Hādizai section, live in Afghānistān in the summer  
and move down to the Dūrajāt in the winter. The Khān  
or Chief resides at Walla, some twelve miles north-west of  
Fort Sandeman.

2. Though Mandō is the name of the one of the three  
sons of Ghurghusht, the son of  
Origin. Qais Abdur Rashid, the progen-  
itor of all the Afghāns, it is not from him that the tribe  
claims descent, but from Mandō, the son of Paṇī, the son  
of Dānī, the son of Ghurghusht. The Mandōkhēls in other  
words, regard themselves as an offshoot of the Paṇī tribe.  
And of the two genealogies this deserves the greater cred-  
ence, apart from the fact that the Paṇīs themselves accept  
it; for if the Mandōkhēls could reasonably claim for their  
eponymous ancestor a nearer relationship to the great pro-  
genitor of the Pathān race, they would certainly do so.  
But if they were Paṇīs originally, they have long lost all  
practical connection with them. According to their own  
account they broke off some twenty generations back.

3. The tribe is divided into two main clans, the Haidar-  
khēl and the Hādizai (also known  
Clans and sections. as Shēkh), called after Mandō's  
two sons Haidar and Hādī. Of these the Haidarkhēl are by  
far the more numerous. Besides these there is a clan called

Kārigarān, and a few odds and ends. The chief divisions are given below :—

<i>Haidarkhēl</i>	...	...	...	...	4,547
Dāwatkhēl	...	...	...	...	2,895
Mamaizai	...	...	...	...	880
Sunkhēl	...	...	...	...	772
<i>Hādizai (or Shēkh)</i>	...	...	...	...	176
Hārūnzai	...	...	...	...	34
Kanōzai	...	...	...	...	142
<i>Kārigarān (Akākhēl)</i>	...	...	...	...	169
<i>Others</i>	...	...	...	...	52

4. Common blood, not simply common blood-feud, is supposed to be the criterion of tribal unity. In theory it is

regarded as impossible for an alien to become a Mandōkhēl. If he settles in the tribe, he is a *hamsāya*; and though he participates in the good and ill of the tribe from the outset, and can acquire land by purchase or otherwise at any time, *hamsāya* he is supposed to remain like his descendants after him from one generation to another. Unless a *hamsāya* is a menial or of foreign race, he can of course take a Mandōkhēl girl to wife like any other Pathān (§ 5).

5. Whatever may be the case with the similar claims of other tribes, this claim of the Mandōkhēls to racial purity seemed to me at first to be no

The *hamsāya* group of  
Mir Alikhēl.

mere pious fiction. For I was referred to a group, called the Mir Alikhēl, which has been attached to the tribe for generations and yet has never been wholly absorbed in it, though intermarriage with the tribesmen is general. The story goes—it is the usual story in cases of the kind—that Sulēmān, the progenitor of the Sulēmānzai section, found a newborn babe outside the encampment; and from this foundling the Mir Alikhēl are supposed to be sprung. But I now find that the Kārigarān are said even by the tribesmen to be descended from a Hindu who embraced Islām at

the hands of Kārī, one of the old chiefs, and nobody seems to question that they have now become genuinely affiliated into the tribe.

6. At the head of the tribe is the Khān or Chief, with  
 Tribal officers. *muliks* or headmen at the head  
 of the sections and sub-sections.

The ancient office of Khān is hereditary in the Kārēzai group of the Sulēmānzai, Naurōzai, Dāwatkhēl Haidarkhēl, and descends from father to son according to primogeniture, or in default of son from brother to brother. With the office goes one-tenth of the ancestral property, the remainder being divided equally among the sons (or brothers, as the case may be) including the Khān himself. On the occasion of a marriage in the tribe the bride's family presents the Khān with a cash payment called *lungī*. In tribal warfare he is—or was—entitled to *panjuk*, nominally one-fifth of the booty. Though commanding respect he is not regarded as endowed with theocratic attributes.

7. Though never a predatory tribe, the Mandōkhēls  
 The tribe under arms. were often driven into tribal  
 warfare by murder, abduction of  
 women and cattle-lifting. All males wearing trousers—the whole manhood of the tribe, that is, from about fifteen years upwards—answered the call to arms, which was carried by word of mouth from village to village. Women ordinarily took no part in the warfare, except occasionally as water-carriers for the combatants. The war-council was composed of men of known prowess under the presidency of the Khān who commanded the army.

8. Tactics and organisation were of a primitive descrip-  
 Tactics. tion. Though advance parties  
 were sent ahead, the flanks were  
 left unprotected. The main body advanced without order, each man carrying his own rations of flour. If they encamped on the hills, no fires were lit: the precaution was neglected if they encamped in the open. Sentries were



posted round the camp. The few horses which accompanied the army were tethered to pegs. When actually engaging the enemy, the men fought pretty much as they pleased, each playing his part in the engagement with whatever weapon he was lucky enough to possess, gun, pistol, knife and buckler. These were among his most cherished possessions, originally acquired by purchase or capture, and handed down as heirlooms from father to son. To inspire terror they advanced on the enemy dancing and shouting. They had no regular war-cries, and their nearest thing to a war-song is the following doggerel :—

*Gharma da takanai, chi ba jang pa nā-mardī kari,*

*Da hagho pa lās da wunshī lawastai.*

"The sun's at its height, let the cowardly wight,

Who flees from the fight, get his death from snake-bite."

9. Their villages were commanded more or less by rude

On the defensive.

but strong towers capable of holding from twenty to thirty

men, to which they resorted to meet an attack from without. The towers were erected without regard to the water supply; they contained no cisterns, the water being simply kept in skins (*gūḍai*) which were replenished as opportunity offered. Stores were occasionally laid in when the siege promised to be protracted.

10. Not only women and unbreeched lads, but also men

Courtesies of war.

carrying grass in their mouths in token of submission, were

free from molestation.

11. The tribal feud continued until a settlement was

Settlement and blood-money.

patched up, generally at a *jirga* of the two tribes, when losses

were totted up on either side, and the balance struck according to an elaborate system of blood-compensation :—

Loss of a life	...	...Rs. 1,200 and two maidens.
" an eye or limb	...	...Rs. 600 and one maiden.
" a tooth	...	...Rs. 50.

12. Cairns of stones were set up to mark a battle-field or the site of a murder. There is a mound three or four miles from Fort Sandeman known as D̄hērai, another a couple of miles further up known as Kabdannī, and a third near D̄ēra known as Sangā, which local traditions set down as Mughal. Pottery, burnt bricks, and silver and copper coins have been picked up on them.

## II.—Language.

13. Few can speak any tongue but their own Pashtō, which belongs to the softer branch of that language. They have no literature, and few songs.

## III—Religion.

Sect.

14. They are Sunnī Muhammadans.

15. Their mullas are fellow-tribesmen. Though treated with deference, they have no voice in the tribal councils and are concerned simply with purely spiritual duties, such as the conduct of prayers and the reading of the marriage and burial services. The tribesmen profess—and apparently with truth—to follow the injunctions of *Shariat* to the letter in giving their mullas a tithe of their grain, a sheep out of every flock of forty and a rupee out of every forty left in the house after the gathering of the autumn harvest.

Sayyids.

16. There is one Sayyid family in the tribe. They are Bukhāri Sayyids who immigrated some five or six generations back, and were given lands in Apōzai by the village elders. The head of the family, Mullā Sadikō, who is not only a Sayyid but a Mulla, commands great respect, and all men rise to their feet when he enters an assembly. Like the rest of his family he is believed to be a favoured servant of God and endowed with powers to

work wonders. When cholera raged in Apūzai in 1900 he walked round the village with Koran in hand, and the disease was stayed. These Sayyids will give their daughters in marriage to the tribesmen at the usual rate of *walwar*.

17. On the two Ids, the 10th of Muharram and the anniversary of the Prophet's death, they slaughter sheep. The 11th and 12th of the Muharram are kept as fasts.

18. At all seasons of the year they resort to the shrines of Hussain Nikka, Muhammad Nikka and Shēr Khān Nikka, which lie within the tribal limits, and sacrifice sheep in honour of the saints, the meat being given to any *fakirs* who happen to be present. But one of their mullas, Abdul Kadir of Girda Bābar, has lately set his face against the slaughter of sheep at the shrines, and the practice has somewhat abated in consequence.

19. Pilgrimages are made to the shrine at Pākpaṭṭan in the Montgomery district. A visit to the shrine on the 11th day of Muharram will be rewarded with the fulfilment of one's prayers.

20. Oath on or by the Koran is the only oath employed. It is readily accepted for the settlement of disputes, for they are convinced that mischief will assuredly overtake the perjurer.

21. They have a lively dread of the evil eye. To avert its influence the man who casts it must wash his eyes in a vessel of water, and the water is then flung over the object he has affected. The top of the Gustōi hill known as Nishpān is haunted; shepherds never take their flocks there, or they would sicken and die. They seem otherwise unusually free from superstitions.

## IV—Occupation.

22. They are husbandmen and to a certain extent flock-owners. With the exception of a few blacksmiths (*pushi*), who are simply *hamsāyas* and may be dismissed at will, there are no artisans in the tribe. The nearest approach to a craft is pottery-making among the women, some of whom fashion earthen cooking-pots by hand and barter them for considerably less grain than the pots will hold.

23. Ownership of land is individual, not tribal. A trace of an earlier system of tribal ownership is apparently to be found in the periodical division every few years of the patches (*kach*) along the Zhōb river between Dēra and Brunj. The rest of the land has been permanently divided. Most of the agriculturists are landholders cultivating their own lands. Some few are tenants (*bugar*) who cultivate the land, water the crops and supply the plough, bullocks and sometimes seed. If the land is poor, tenant and landlord usually share and share alike, the former supplying the seed. If the land is good, the tenant takes only a fourth of the produce as the landlord supplies the seed. For rice crops, the tenant always supplies the seed, and takes two-thirds or three-quarters according as the land is good or poor. The government revenue is paid by both in proportion to their shares.

24. The water is not owned by the tribe but jointly by individuals. The distribution of the water, which has been permanently divided among them, is superintended by the *mīrāo*. The divisions—*shawārōs*, night and day, *shpā*, night, *wras* or *wial*, day, *nīmawras*, or *nīmkaī*, half day, *isalōram wras*, one-fourth of a day, *shpasham wras*, one-sixth of a day—are determined by the length and direction of the sun's shadows and the position of the stars. The shares in the water taken from the Zhōb river are known as *wandgarai*.

There are one or two water-mills ; the stones are got from the Haṛēk and Zarmāṭa hills, and cost about Rs. 30 each.

25. All work connected with the cultivation of land,

ploughing, sowing, reaping,  
 Division of labour between the two sexes. threshing and so forth, falls on the men, who also graze and

tend the flocks. The women draw the water, gather the wood, grind the corn, cook the food, sew and wash the clothes, do the milking, and make the butter, butter-milk and cheese. The tents are pitched by the men and women together. But women among the higher classes are spared all outdoor work.

26. They have no special breeds of sheep or goats.

Pastoral life. They drink the milk of both.

The wool is used for making sacks to hold grain, etc. ; any left over is sold. It is not felted. Out of the goats' hair they make their blanket tents (*kiahdur*). The average price of a sheep is five rupees, a goat is a rupee cheaper. The sheep are very subject to a disease known as *lamē*, which starts with a cough. A holy man is brought in to see what he can do with his charms, but even so the mortality is about twenty per cent. They keep a few ponies, but don't go in for regular breeding. They use mares and geldings for riding indifferently, but regard stallions as a nuisance. They geld their colts themselves with sharp knives. Mare's milk is not drunk.

Their other domestic animals are cattle, donkeys, fowls, cats and watch-dogs.

### V.—Home Life.

27. Boys wear a long shirt (*kamis*—if open at the front,

Clothes. *khalkai*), a wrapper (*tāsar*) and a turban (*lungai* : if white, *pagrai* ;

if coloured, *paṭkae*). Girls are dressed in much the same way except that they do not wear turbans. Their usual wrapper (*tikrai*) is white or green, a wrapper of any other colour is called *sālā*, one made of chintz, *chunai*. Males don

trousers (*partūk*) on entry to manhood. Women also wear trousers with a long shirt and a wrapper. The men prefer to dress in white, the women in black, but even the men wear black turbans. Red is avoided by the tribe as a whole. The clothes are made by the womenfolk; the cloth, needles and thread are all purchased. The clothes the dead died in are given to the mulla who washes the body. The rest of his clothes are given in charity.

28. Males cut their hair in a line with the lobes of their ears. Greybeards dye their hair with indigo (*tūri nūkrīsī*), and henna (*srē nukrīsī*). Women wear their hair in plaits at the back; but maidens can be distinguished from wives and widows by small locks (*tsūnri*) hanging down loose on either side in front of their ears. Dyes are not used by the women.

29. Women wear gold pendants (*tanūsī*) just above the temples which serve as charms (*ta'wis*), and small plates of gold (*zālī*) jutting out in front of the ears, which are decked with ear-rings (*lashtai*) and pendants (*dēdē*) hanging from the lobes. On the right side of the nose they wear a small turquoise set in gold (*chārgul*). Round the neck they hang a string of rupees or eight-anna pieces or Kābuli rupees which are so loosely threaded that the necklace (*hamēl*), reaches almost to the waist. An elaborate silver ornament (*kūba*) is sewn into the shirt just above the breasts. It consists of a centre-piece partly gilt, about three-and-half inches across, with a red stone in the middle encircled by tiny blue stones, and of two side-pieces, a couple of inches across, with a single blue stone in the centre. Silver bracelets (*bāhū*) are worn round the wrist. There are no ornaments on the legs or feet. Unmarried girls wear an ornament (*sarūngai*) on their forehead, suspended from their hair by a silken thread. It either consists of a string of rupees or half rupees, generally eight on either side of the forehead,

or is made of silver. A girl begins to wear the ornament as soon as she is about six or seven, discards it on betrothal for another provided by the boy's parents, but ceases to wear this kind of ornament altogether as soon as she marries and goes to her husband's home.

Widows doff all their ornaments except the bracelets. Men wear nothing but a silver signet ring.

30. With the exception of some members of the Sulēmānzai section, who are wholly nomadic, they live in huts during the winter, and camp out in goats' hair tents (*kishdai*) in the summer. The walls of the hut are made of boulders in mud. The roof consists of rafters laid loosely over beams, and covered in with branches and grass, the whole being plastered over with mud. In the centre of the roof there is a hole to let the smoke escape; the fireplace is usually in the middle of hut. There are no separate eating or sleeping rooms. Nor is there a guest chamber; the guests are put up in the mosque. The cattle are provided with shelters of their own.

31. The only articles of furniture a hut is likely to contain are beds and bedding, blankets, cooking pots and the like. Here also the grain and the summer *kishdai* are stored.

32. When a new village site is selected, prayers are offered up by the mulla and the people, and sheep or goats are sacrificed. Such sacrifice is also performed by the occupant of a new house.

33. A few Sulēmānzai families live in tents all the year round, moving up and down the country in search of grazing. They have two sets of tents, the winter tent (*sami kishdai*) and the smaller tent for summer (*dobi kishdai*). In summer they move upwards to Khurāsān, travelling some ten miles



in the day, with their tents packed on donkeys or bullocks. They carry a handmill, grind the wheat as it is required, and bake their bread on a pan supported by two or three stones over a fire.

34. The staple grains are wheat, coarse rice (*shālai*) and maize (*dusār*). If they have the choice, they prefer wheat in the winter and rice and maize in the summer. The wheat and maize are ground on handmills, and the flour is made into bread. But on the tramp a *kāk* or ball of dough baked round a hot stone is often made instead to save time and trouble. Though vegetables are only just beginning to be regarded as possible foodstuffs, various fruits—grapes, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, mulberries, figs and almonds—are freely cultivated, while *sanghōze* (edible pine), *shinē* (pistachio) and *shnanī* (wild olive) are gathered wild and eaten raw. In times of scarcity they feed on assafoetida roots.

35. They eat all flesh which is lawful according to *Shariat* except fish, which they never touch. Beef, goats' flesh and mutton are their chief meats, mutton being the favourite. The meat is either roasted on a metal skewer or a spit of green wood, or is boiled in a large earthen vessel filled with water. The marrow, which is extracted by cracking the bone on a stone, is considered a special delicacy.

36. Every autumn each family slaughters a number of sheep according to its means. Joints are carved up, salted and seasoned with assafoetida. Then they are skewered horizontally on a stick and left to dry indoors if there's room to spare, or out in the shade. If dried indoors, it must be in a place free from smoke. This dried meat is known as *lāṇḍae* and is eaten in the winter months, being boiled in the usual way.

37. They drink the milk of the cow, sheep and goat,  
but don't touch mare's milk.  
Milk and *krut*.

This is how they make *krut* or dried curds. The milk is boiled and allowed to cool; then it receives the addition of a little butter-milk and is left to stand overnight. In the morning it is poured into a skin and well shaken. The butter is removed by hand, the milk is poured into an earthen vessel and left to simmer on the fire for some time. After it has cooled, it is strained through cloth and the curds left over are spread out to dry on a blanket or a bit of cloth.

38. The cooking vessels are ordinarily home-made earthenware, but copper vessels  
Cooking utensils. purchased in the bazaar appear to be coming into fashion. Brass bowls (*gadvas*) are in common use. Flour is kneaded on large wooden platters. The utensils are cleaned after use.

39. There are two meals in the day, in the morning and evening. 'Bismillah' is uttered as  
Meals. grace before meal. Though the food for the two sexes is cooked together, they do not eat together; the women must wait till the men have finished. Not only do they not eat together, the women take elaborate pains that the men should never see them eat. Even if man and wife are alone in the house, she will always turn her back on her husband when she takes her meal.

40. After the meal has been cooked, the fire is damped down with ashes. If it dies out,  
Fire. a light is borrowed from a neighbour or produced with flint and steel with a bit of dry rag for tinder, or—what is becoming daily more common—by the convenient match-box (*bakas*). Except for the usual children's bonfire on the first of Safar, there are no customs connected with fire.

41. The root of the plant *lawanaī barar* (*periploca aphylla*) is peeled, dried and powdered, and taken about the weight of an eight anna bit at a time, on an empty stomach with a little warm water as a purgative. The same amount of powdered *sarghūn kānqai* ('green stone') is taken in the same way and for the same purpose. A powder made from a gum called *maulūi* is taken in a little water three times a day in cases of pneumonia.

## VI.—Social Customs.

42. The opening greeting *salām alaikum* is made by the newcomer, even though he be of superior rank. The answering salutation is *walaikum salām! ṣṭayai mā-shē, jōrē?* 'I hope you are not tired! are you well?' on which the first rejoins *khwār mā-shē!* 'I hope you are not down-hearted!' If two men meet on a road, it is for the one with his face towards Mecca to take the initiative. If neither faces in that direction the one on higher ground should begin, while a rider should open the greetings if the other's on foot. Hands are shaken, but the hands of a pilgrim on return from the *hajj* and of a particularly holy mulla or revered Sayyid are kissed in token of respect.

43. It's a bounden duty to entertain strangers and even an enemy. Sheep are slaughtered for honoured guests, others must take pot-luck. They are put up for the night in the mosque.

44. It is a breach of decency to expose the body in the presence of the other sex. It is also indecent for a man to remove his trousers and even his shirt in the company of other men. A woman's avoidance of being seen eating by men (§ 39) is no doubt another matter of decency.

## VII.—Domestic Ceremonies.

45. The birth of a son is greeted with the firing of guns.

Birth.

A few days later the young men of the village assemble for a dance and a feast. Sheep are slaughtered for them, but no bread is given. The birth of a daughter is passed over in silence.

46. Every boy has to be circumcised before he reaches the age of ten ; indeed the operation is usually performed within

Circumcision.

the first three days after birth. It is regarded as a purely religious rite, though its cleanliness is not unappreciated. It is performed by the barber with a razor.

47. They observe the usual marriage prohibitions of consanguinity, affinity and fosterage ;

Marriage limits and age.

a deceased wife's sister, it may be noted, is not within the prohibited degrees. Any Pathán may marry a tribeswoman. Marriages by exchange (*sarai*) are common. Infant and non-adult marriages are unknown.

48. A father who wants to get his boy betrothed takes

Betrothal.

four or five kinsmen on a formal visit to the house of the girl whom he fancies. If all goes well—and the subject has usually been broached privately beforehand—the father or guardian of the girl declares 'I will, and hereby do, bestow the maiden.' A sheep is then killed and the guests are feasted. The question of *walwar* or bride-price having been discussed, the boy's father hands over twenty rupees or so to be spent on a *sarūngai* or forehead ornament (§ 29) for the maiden. Her father returns the compliment by presenting each of his guests with a white turban, and finally cements the betrothal with a gift of a small coloured handkerchief (*dasmāl*) with a needle threaded with green silk stuck into it. The thread and the needle are symbolical, no doubt, of the union of the male and female ; green is the colour of prosperity. The symbol is regarded as particularly happy

as further representing the needlecraft of the good housewife.

49. The betrothal (*kōzda* or *urfi nikāh*, for the *nikāh* is nowadays often read at the ceremony) is then complete, the binding portion of the ceremony being
- The binding nature of a betrothal.

the presentation of the handkerchief and the threaded needle, which are treasured up in the boy's house for some time as an outward sign of it before they are brought into use. Only death or a formal divorce can annul a betrothal thus formally ratified.\* Indeed, death itself is not wholly operative. For if the boy dies, the girl's hand is claimed for his brother or cousin, and her father cannot refuse it. If the girl dies and the bride-price (*walwar*) has been paid over, it is not returned.

50. Three hundred rupees in cash is the average rate of
- Walwar.* *walwar* nowadays, but something depends on the looks and social

position of the girl, and these may raise the price very considerably. In the old days it only ranged from fifty to one hundred rupees and that in Kābuli currency. The rise in bride-price, however, is not quite so great as it seems, for the depreciation of the Kābuli rupee is of comparatively recent date; there is more wealth in the country, and ready money is less scarce than it used to be. A portion of the *walwar* is in effect returned in the shape of ornaments and clothing for the bride.

51. When a man is hard pressed to raise the requisite
- Baspanr.* *walwar*, he goes from door to door among his tribesmen begging for contributions. This system of collecting contributions (*baspanr*) is adopted in other cases of financial stress, even by the Khān himself.

52. A few days after the *kōzda* the youth goes with a few
- Arata pasha.* friends on a formal visit to the girl's house where her father

kills a sheep and feasts them. This custom is called *arata pasha*, or the releasing of the feet, for the youth is now at liberty to visit his betrothed at her parent's house whenever he likes. During such visits the young couple are left alone without causing any scandal, for undue familiarity is supposed to be out of the question.

53. Though there is no regular marriage season, weddings are rarely celebrated in the month of Safar or in the period between the two Ids. Wednesday is an auspicious day for the ceremony; Saturday is to be avoided.\* The marriage is celebrated according to the ordinary *nikah* ritual, even though the *nikah* has already been read at the betrothal (§ 49). Sheep are slaughtered, and the kinsfolk and friends are feasted. The expenses on the part of the bridegroom's family average two hundred rupees over and above the *walwar*; the bride's family have to spend about half.

54. Notwithstanding the intimate way in which the young couple are thrown together after the *arata pasha* (§ 52) sexual intercourse is strictly forbidden, in theory at any rate, between betrothal and marriage. Indeed, consummation is usually deferred till some days after the wedding itself. For the bride remains, as a rule, for about three days as a guest in her new home. With her comes her mother or sister to sleep at her side, and the bridegroom does not approach her until after they are gone.

55. Apparently about one man in ten has more than one wife. Polygamy is less a question of personal inclination than of the barrenness of a first wife and the widowhood of a next-of-kin, whose remarriage outside the family would almost amount to a breach of public opinion and decency. Wives, as a rule, live together, the first wife generally running the household. Concubinage is not customary.

56. The usual grounds of divorce are misconduct, real or imaginary, and incompatibility of temper. The husband takes three stones and thrice declares : ' With these three stones I divorce you, go where you will.' The declaration is usually made in the presence of witnesses ; the presence of the wife is not indispensable. No portion of the *walwar* is refunded. But if the wife has been divorced for proved misconduct, it is stipulated that her relatives or guardian, to whose tutelage she returns, shall pay the husband a certain sum in the event of her remarriage. Though religion sanctions the divorce by a wife of an impotent husband, no case has occurred in the tribe within living memory.

57. A widow is a part of her deceased husband's estate. All questions regarding her remarriage rest in the hands of his heirs or their guardian, though, should the question be brought into the British Courts, her freedom of choice would of course be upheld. If she is made to marry her deceased husband's brother—and it is he who has the first claims—no *walwar* is paid. If the heirs select another husband for her, *walwar* is paid over to them at the usual rate. The betrothal ceremony is dispensed with. The *nikāh* is read at the wedding, which is immediately followed by cohabitation, without the period of guest-treatment (§54) as in the case of a first marriage.

58. The dead are wrapped in a shroud and buried in a grave that has been dug without ceremony in the village burial-ground, in the usual posture with the head towards the north and the feet towards the south and the body resting on the right side, with the face towards the west. A mulla traces the *kalima* with his finger on the shroud or a stone that is buried with the body. Slabs of stone are stuck upright at the head and feet of the grave. For a male the



slabs are arranged with their flat faces parallel ; for a woman they are set at right angles.

59. There is no elaborate system of mourning. On the first day no food may be cooked in the house ; the bereaved family is supplied with food by some neighbour or relation. The widow discards all her ornaments except the bracelets. Visits of condolence are paid by kinsfolk and friends within the year. They bring with them an offering of sheep according to their means, and are entertained by the bereaved family.

### VIII.—Customary Laws.

60. Adultery is regarded with the greatest abhorrence and dealt with ruthlessly. If he gets the chance, it is for the husband or some near relative to slay the wife and her paramour then and there. If they escape, the relatives on both sides try to patch the matter up to prevent a blood-feud. The compensation which the paramour must pay is on the same scale as for a murder, to wit Rs. 1,200 and two maidens. If the woman's life is spared, she can remarry within the tribe.

61. Adultery is only one of many crimes which lead to a blood-feud. Settlements can be brought by paying compensation at certain standard rates, *e.g.*, Rs. 1,200 and two maidens for a murder, Rs. 600 and one maiden for maiming. The compensation or *sharmāna* for seduction and like is not fixed, but Rs. 500 represents a fair average. In the case of a maiden it is claimed by her father ; if she is betrothed, by her father and fiancé jointly ; in the case of a widow the *sharmāna* goes to the heirs of her late husband. In none of these cases is the woman punished with death.

62. Succession devolves on the male agnates only and sons, father, brothers, nephews, uncles, first cousins, is the order

of precedence. When there are both sons and deceased sons' sons, or brothers and deceased brothers' sons, the inheritance goes not *per stirpes* but *per capita*.

63. Wills are quite common. In fact, nearly everybody makes a will on his death-bed, or when setting out on a long journey, say a pilgrimage to Mecca. They are mostly oral.

64. The nearest relative of the deceased takes upon himself the guardianship of the minor heirs until they reach the age of puberty. A guardian may alienate land which is a part of the inheritance either to provide for the maintenance of his wards or to purchase better land with the proceeds.

65. A son does not necessarily set up for himself on marriage. It is usually quarrels among the men or women that lead to a partition of the family property. The father's consent is essential, but it is rarely withheld. On partition the father and each of his sons take equal shares. A partition once made cannot be revoked, even though other sons are born subsequently to it. On the father's death the share he reserved for himself is divided into as many equal shares as there are sons who remained with the father, *plus* an additional equal share which is given jointly to the sons who had previously broken off from the father.

66. The right of pre-emption obtains in cases of sale (but not of exchange or mortgage) of both land and water. It is enjoyed by relatives or owners of adjoining property, the latter having the superior rights. It must be claimed forthwith on getting wind of the sale, and if it is not admitted, an appeal must be made without delay to the Khān. If they plead that the sale-price was not fixed in good faith, it is a matter for arbitrators to decide.

## IX.—Weights and Measures, etc.

67. There are no relative values of women and cattle, etc. Slaves are not kept. Barter is not in vogue, and is unknown to tribal memory. Nor are beads and the like used as money. The coins are the ordinary British currency; the rupee is called *kaldār*, the eight-anna piece *atā ānuā*, the four-anna piece *pāā*, the two-anna piece *dō-angi*, the half anna *debbalapaisā* and the pice *paisā*. The Kābuli rupee is going out of circulation. It was once worth as much as thirteen annas; it is now down to a trifle over seven.

68. The year is divided into *sarṃūnae*, spring, *dobae*, summer, *wasā*, the rains, *manae*, autumn, and *zamae*, winter. Winter is divided into three periods, *sūr samae* from about the middle of October to the end of November, *tār samae*, to the middle of January, and *spīn samae* to the end of March.

Months.	69. These are the local names for the months :—				Arabic month.
<i>Khudāi Mīdsht</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Rajab.
<i>Asūra</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Shābān.
<i>Rōza</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Ramzān.
<i>Kamkae Id</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Shwāl.
<i>Manzakai</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Zi K'aad.
<i>Lōe Id</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Zul-hajj.
<i>Hassan Hussain</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Muharram.
<i>Sapara</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Safar.
<i>Warumbai khōr</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Rabī-ul-awal.
<i>Doima khōr</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Rabī-us-sānī.
<i>Drēama Khōr</i> ...	...	...	...	...	Jamādi-ul-awal.
<i>Tsalōrama khōr</i> (or <i>Ustrai khōr</i> ) ...	...	...	...	...	Jamādi-us-sānī.

70. The day is divided into *sahār*, dawn, *barasar*, forenoon, *gharma*, noon, *siwāl* (about 1 p.m.), *māpeshīn*, afternoon, and

*māzīgār* sunset. The night is divided into *māshām*, evening, *makhustan*, about 10 o'clock, and *nīma-shpā*, midnight.

71. The only length measures are the *kwast* or span (from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger with the fingers expanded), and fore-arm, *hathu* (from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, or roughly half a yard). There are no land measurements or approximations, such as the area which a yoke of oxen can plough in a day. Land is sold by shares in the water. For the division of water see § 24.

72. Grain is measured by the *ōshae*, which holds four seers of wheat and more of other grains. The *ōshae* is subdivided into *nīm ōshae*,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , *kurzai*,  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Forty *ōshaes* go to a *ghīnd* or sack, which equals four maunds.

Counting. 73. Counting is done in units in the ordinary way.

74. Lots are drawn with sheep droppings, on which each man puts his mark. They are put in a cloth, shaken and drawn for.



## DUMAR (SANZARKHĒL, KĀKAR) PATHĀNS.

(Chiefly from material compiled by Rāi Bahādur Diwān  
Jamīat Rāi, C.I.E.)

### I.—Tribal History, Constitution, etc.

1. The total number of Dumar̄s recorded at the Census  
Numbers. of 1911 was 7,755, being distributed over Lōṛalai (5,921), Sibi (1,037), Quetta-Pishin (740), Zhōb (31) and Kalāt (26). The headquarters of the tribe is the Sanjāwī Tahsīl in the Lōṛalai district, from parts of which they ousted their hereditary enemies, the Wanēchīs, apparently in Mughal times.

2. The tribe is divided into three principal clans,  
Clans. Hasankhēl, Umarzai and Zakh-  
pēl, each subdivided into many sections and sub-sections. The main divisions are as follows :—

I.—HASANKHĒL	...	...	6,093
Natōzai	...	...	3,692
Shābōzai	...	...	2,401
II.—UMARZAI	...	...	387
Khawājakzai	...	...	118
Yakubzai	...	...	142
Yāsinzai	...	...	122
Others	...	...	5
III.—ZAKHPĒL	...	...	1,237
Bakhshēzai	...	...	27
Biānzai	...	...	73
Hasankhānzai	...	...	64
Hasanzai	...	...	88
Lālēzai	...	...	16
Mardānzai	...	...	278
Murādizai	...	...	383

Mūsāzai	...	...	...	38
Nazarzai	...	...	...	188
Rahmānzai	...	...	...	56
Others	...	...	...	26
IV.—OTHERS	...	...	...	38

3. Who the Dumaṛs really are, it seems a little difficult to say. They themselves are often very hazy. Sometimes, it

is true, they roundly claim descent from Kāk, great-grandson of the father of all Paṭhāns, Qais Abdur Rashid; and some colour is given to this claim by the statement of Niāmat Ullah, the Paṭhān genealogist, that Dāwi, the son of Dānī, the son of Ghurghusht, the son of Qais Abdur Rashid, had a son whose name was Dum. But no Kākars, and probably no other Paṭhān either, regards the Dumaṛ as his equal. Among the Kākars the common story is that the Dumaṛ is descended from a *dum* or minstrel in the service of Sanzar, the progenitor of the Sanzarkhēl Kākars. And the uneasiness the Dumaṛs feel over their descent is evinced by the tales they tell in moments of expansion of their descent from Sanzar by a Shīrānī widow, or—more suggestive still—from a foundling who was adopted by some Utmānkhēl or other. So typically significant is this appeal to a widow or a foundling that it seems likely enough, in spite of Niāmat Ullah's genealogy, that the Dumaṛs are not true Paṭhāns at all, but an originally subject people—possibly as their neighbours say, Dums—who have risen somehow or other in the social scale, until they are now able with some show of plausibility to claim relationship with their whilom masters, the Paṭhāns, among whom they have to some extent become affiliated, thanks to environment, marriage and language.

4. How easily tribesmen find comfort in fictitious descents may be seen from the

The pretensions of the amusing way in which the  
Zakhpēl section.  
Zakhpēl section profess to be  
Sayyids. They are, or were, a sober, righteous and



godly lot, at any rate in comparison with the rest of the tribe, and thus became invested with a certain degree of sanctity which eventually led them to give themselves airs as Sayyids. That they are descended from Qum like the rest of the tribe, they do not attempt to deny; when told that Sayyids are descended from the Prophet and not from Qum, all they say is that it's very strange and interesting, but they're Sayyid-cum-Dumar for all that. Before long, I suppose, they will drop the Dumar, and blossom forth as full-blown Sayyids.

5. The criterion of tribal unity is theoretically not only

Admission to the tribe. common blood-feud but common

blood. And as the Paṭhāns look down on the Dumar, it seems probable enough that there is more foundation for their claim to tribal exclusiveness than is usually the case. But the statement that strangers are never admitted to the tribe except as temporary *hamsāyas*, is clearly too sweeping. Cases certainly occur from time to time in which outsiders, having obtained land in the tribe by gift or purchase, settle down and marry among the Dumar and share in their good and ill, enjoying the right to use the jungles, waste lands and pastures in proportion to their share in the tribal lands. Marriage by the by goes for little: any Paṭhān can get a Dumar girl if he's prepared to pay for her.

6. There is a *sardār* or chief at the head of the tribe.

The *sardār*. The office is hereditary, descending from father to son by primo-

geniture. It carries with it a special share of the land wrested from the Wanēchis. In the old days the *sardār* used to receive *panjuk*, the chief's share of the plunder, nominally 1/5th. But this and a sheep or goat at the lambing season from the well-to-do appear to have been the sole perquisites attached to the office. Yet his authority was paramount: to thwart it was to incur the corporate displeasure of the tribe. He decided questions of peace and

war, and assumed the lead in the field. As a rule, no doubt, he took the precaution of consulting the tribal council of headmen and greybeards, who also assisted him in the settlement of disputes within the tribe. Nowadays he enjoys an allowance from Government, and if he receives anything from his tribesmen, it is only a voluntary offering, especially at weddings and the like, as a token of respect. Though his authority is very different from what it used to be, it is still considerable. He holds himself somewhat aloof from the ordinary tribesmen, to whom he would not deign to give his daughter in marriage, and considers it beneath his dignity to work in the field or do any manual work.

7. Each section had its headman, known as *malik* or

The *maliks*. *shah mēra*, whose duties were to control his particular section and

generally to assist the *sardār* in tribal affairs. The office was hereditary, but carried nothing but the dignity of authority with it. Under British Government it is more lucrative, owing to the *malikāna* that is attached to it. Though it still goes by heredity, heredity is tempered by the voice of the people and the pleasure of the District Officer. Any tribesman may marry a *malik's* daughter, but if he aspires so high, he will find that he has to pay more than the market rate for her.

8. All men—and the term included lads who had been

The tribe under arms. promoted to breeches (*partūg*)—had to obey the call to arms,

with a skin (*banai*) of flour and any weapons he happened to possess. If the tribe was on the defensive, the women kept in the rear with food and drink for the combatants, ready to intervene with a Koran if the day went against them. If the *sardār* decided on a raid, word was sent round the tribe through the *maliks*, and the men mustered at a given spot, while scouting parties (*chūrai*) were sent ahead to reconnoitre.

9. Before setting out, the whole host had to pass under a sheet held by two *hudadārs*, men who were cunning at charms.

This rendered the warriors proof against the weapons of the enemy. These *hudadārs* were taken from the Bābōzai, Khidarkhēl and Kanōzai groups, and were also known as *Shākh*. Before the engagement, martial songs were sung to the *nar* and the *kānguri*, while the *sardār* stirred the blood of the men with shouts of battle.

10. The plunder was first devoted to provide compensation for the killed and wounded.

Division of the plunder. The shares varied, of course, with the amount available, but the heirs of each of the fallen got a full share, while a warrior got one-half for a broken limb, a fourth for a serious wound, and an eighth for a slight injury. Then the *sardār* took something choice for himself, a mare or a weapon or the like, as his *panjuk* or chief's share, and a similar trophy was awarded to each of the *hudadārs*. The remainder was divided up into definite shares: two shares to a scout, one share for each warrior, one share for each horse, and half a share for each gun or lance. A fully-armed horseman would thus come in for two and a half shares.

## II.—Religion.

11. They are Sunni by profession, and keep the usual festivals in much the same way as Pathāns generally.

Sect.

12. The mullas are drawn not only from their own tribe, but also from the Gharshins, Kākars and Pēchis. They con-

Mullas.

duct the prayers, perform marriage and funeral services, teach the Koran and act as peacemakers between disputants. They get a share in the *sakāf* and various fees at the domestic ceremonies, but some have to eke out their livelihood by agriculture.

13. There are some Gharshin and Pāchi Sayyids living in the tribe and intermarrying with the tribesmen. Their influence seems somewhat on the wane, but the more saintly among them are still in great request to bless the childless, ward off diseases and bring down rain. If the crops are smitten with rust or infested with locusts, the holy man goes to the fields, Koran in hand, and spits on the stricken corn or into the mouth of a locust, and the pestilence is stayed. If water is running low, it is enough for him to perform ablutions in the channel. There is a fairly general idea that the ghosts of departed saints watch over their descendants and worshippers, ready to avenge any harm that is done to them.

14. There are omens everywhere for those who can read them. To meet a youth early in the morning with projecting upper teeth is as unlucky as it is the reverse to meet a holy man. If a hare crosses your path when you're setting out on some business, you'll be wise to turn back. If a partridge gets up on your right, beware! But all's well if it flies on the left. If you don't want sickness in your house you'd better not grow tobacco. To let fire or salt be taken from your house after dark is simply to court disaster. In fact, if there's sickness in the house, there'll be death in the house if the ashes are removed from the house at all. And this is why the women never cleared out their hearths when the menfolk were away fighting the enemy. In the month of Safar above all one must be on one's guard, for that is the season when evil spirits are especially active. On the first evening the children light a bonfire in the village, while careful house-wives rummage every corner and nook of the house to ward off the evil ones, and they do the same again when the month is out. But the evil spirits are always hovering round, especially in the graveyards and in the haunted spot called Tilērai Tsakhōbai, so that it's as well to be armed with an amulet got from some holy man.

Never come nigh the bed of one stricken with small-pox till a mulla or a saintly Sayyid has drawn a line (*likā*) round the bed to keep the disease within its bounds.

15. When sun or moon is eclipsed, they are really suffering from a great sickness. Now

Eclipses.

this sickness was originally intended for mankind, but the sun and moon out of sheer goodness of heart prayed to God that it might be removed to them instead. And it was so. Hence it is that the grateful Dumaṣ sacrifice a goat or a sheep and distribute the meat at an eclipse, praying that the sun or moon may speedily recover from its vicarious suffering.

16. Horse-flesh and fish are never eaten. Nor is the head of the hare, the reason

Tabu.

given being that it looks too much like a donkey. And no woman will touch the heart of any animal whatsoever, though why she can't say, but imagines it's to leave all the more to the men, who should be stout-hearted above everything. Nor will she take any three things at one and the same time from her husband or indeed from anybody else, for three is the fatal number of divorce (§ 60).

17. There were various trials by ordeal in the old days.

Ordeals.

Thus the accused was flung in the water with a rope round his waist, and was guilty if he sank. Or he was made to walk either with a red-hot iron in his hand or over live embers, and had to come through unblistered. Or a wooden platter had holes bored in at the sides and was held a little above the ground by index fingers inserted in the holes. Slips of paper—one for each of the suspected men—were prepared and placed on the platter one by one. If the platter remained still or moved to the right, the man was innocent, but a movement to the left proclaimed his guilt. Sometimes a special *chal būnrae* or divinator was called in. As the Koran was being recited, he would be seized with a fit of ecstasy, and jumping to his feet would seize the platter

and convey it to the house of the culprit, just as if he were a tracker following up tracks. Or a Sayyid or a mulla would be invited to spend the night in the house, and after he had supped, he would sleep and dream a dream, in which the identity of the culprit would be revealed.

### III.—Occupation.

18. Most of the tribesmen are landlords cultivating their

Agriculture.                      own lands. All the land is permanently divided except in *Kharāshang*.

In the dry crop area of the tract any tribesman has the right to embank as much land as he pleases, and may transfer his *lath-bandī* or rights by embankment to any other Dumaṛ, but not to an outsider. Shares in water are measured by the shade of the sun and the position of the stars. There are a few tenants-at-will, taking a  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the produce if the landlord provides bullocks and seed, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  if he provides but one bullock and half of the seed. Day-labourers can be had for eight annas a day; if engaged for long periods, they get two to four rupees a month, with board, lodging and clothing.

19. Many of the tribesmen also own cattle, sheep and  
Flock-owning.                      goats.

20. There is no regular artisan class. Their earthen  
Crafts.                                  cooking-pots and drinking-bowls and most of the other household

articles are home-made. The dwarf-palm supplies them with ropes, baskets, mats and sandals. A woman may make any of these articles, except ropes and sandals. Sandals are also made from raw cow-hide. Felts are made from the wool. So is the felt-coat (*akhṣai*), a sort of long overcoat, open at the front, with sleeves, four feet long, sewn together at the ends, into which, by the by, they are in the habit of spitting.

### IV.—Home Life.

21. The dress of a male consists of a turban (*paḥka*) six  
Male dress.                      or seven yards long, white being worn by the older men, while

youths affect black or blue ; a smock (*lanḍai*) which reaches to the ankles, with strings on the shoulders to tuck up the sleeves when working ; trousers (*partūg*), the outward sign of manhood, tied round the middle with a cord (*partūgāsh*) or a rope made of black woollen thread, ornamented at the ends with small silken flowers. This latter is worn by the young bloods, who also go in for very baggy trousers, which in the old days were unfashionable on account of being cumbersome in warfare. One Muhammad Sadiq made himself conspicuous at an Id festival a few years ago by wearing an enormous pair of trousers, popularly supposed to have taken 60 yards of longcloth in the making, which made him look for all the world like an inflated balloon. Over the shoulders is worn a wrapper (*chādar*) about five yards long. In the cold weather they wear a long felt coat (*khosai*). The sandals (*chaplae*) are made either of dwarf-palm leaves or cow-hide.

22. The women wear a long coloured skirt which reaches almost to the ankles, with an opening of about nine inches in the front. Marriageable girls have circular patterns embroidered just over the breasts, as an outward sign of puberty. Married and marriageable girls wear gaiters (*partūg*) of cloth round their legs from the ankle to the knee, tied below the knee-cap with strings. The gaiters are not worn by maidens or old women. The head-dress (*fikrai*) is a white or black sheet, with some embroidery on it. Sandals are only worn in bad weather.

23. The men wear their hair long. It is cleaned with fuller's earth and oiled, and parted by two laces which are left to hang down on the chest. The moustaches are clipped so as to leave the lips exposed. Mullas and budding mullas (*tālīb*) shave their heads and dye brows and moustaches. Wives and marriageable girls plait their hair in ringlets, which are allowed to hang over the cheeks, the ends being tied at the back and woven into a plait behind.



Though widows plait their hair, the ringlets are scraped back and not allowed to hang over the cheeks.

24. Various ornaments are worn by the women: a brass or

Ornaments.

silver ring in the nose, a necklace of beads or coins (*ghōji*), a necklace of brass (*hamāl*), a nose-ornament (*chārgul*), rings and bangles of silver or brass. Men wear rings and charms (*l'awia*) only.

25. The huts are made of mud with a mud roof. In

Dwellings.

the winter they house not only the family but the cattle. A lamb or kid is slaughtered, and the flesh given in alms whenever a new dwelling is occupied. In the hot weather most families go out into a *kudal*, a temporary shelter of brushwood. Some of the tribesmen are nomadic and live in tents (*kishdī*) all the year round. A *kishdī* is made either of matting (*taurī*) or goat-hair blankets. They are secured to the ground by ropes and pegs.

26. The staple grains are wheat, barley, maize and

Food.

millet. All meat which is lawful according to religion appears to be eaten, except fish, horse-flesh and the head of the hare, and—among the women—the heart of any animal (§16).

27. Fire used to be produced with flint and steel, the

Fire.

woolly substance found in the dwarf-palm being employed as tinder. But the match-box has now found its way everywhere. One of the oaths of the country runs as follows: or *Hindūān o manalae dāe. Za pa dagha uswasam chi mā darogh mayalae wī*; "Fire is adopted by Hindus, may I burn in it if I tell a lie."

## V.—Social Customs.

28. Hospitality in this tribe has been reduced to a fine

Tribal hospitality.

art. The custom of *lawalsa* or the entertainment of guest in common and in rotation by the tribesmen in proportion to their holdings, though now dying out, was once universal. It is an ancient peculiarity in this tribe that bread is served

first and meat afterwards, instead of the other way round as in other tribes. In summer a sheep is killed for an honoured guest, each tribesman subscribing to its cost proportionately and bringing his share of bread to the feast. In winter *parsanda* or dried meat is provided by the man whose turn for hospitality has come round. This tribal custom has almost died out except in Aghbarg and Shinlūz. The people of Pui, by the by, are notorious for their scurvy treatment of guests and strangers.

29. Another custom now on the decline (but much more prevalent than they sometimes make out) is the provision of unmarried but marriageable girls for the better entertainment of a guest. If there's a girl in the family, well and good; if not, the householder borrows the services of one for the night from his neighbour.

30. Somewhat analogous is the recognition of free love among the unmarried in the tribe itself, which goes by the innocent name of *majlis*. A lad sends word to the lass he fancies appointing a tryst. Or if he cannot get a message through to her, he creeps to her bedside at dead of night. A soft pressure of the nose arouses her to wakefulness and caution, and she soon creeps out of doors after him. At the first tryst the couple content themselves, likely enough, with kissing and toying, but the inevitable developments are only a matter of time. A youth often goes to a tryst with three tight knots in his *parlūgūsh* to insure a few moments in which to resist temptation. Or he may let his clothes serve as a preventive check. But as far as public opinion in the tribe is concerned restraint and checks seem alike unnecessary, for in a case in which a youth was caught in the very act at a *majlis* by the girl's relatives and severely belaboured, the *jirga* held that the assault was entirely unprovoked and unjustifiable. The girl makes the youth a present (generally some sweets) called *jēb*, or pocket, after a *majlis*, which he displays among his comrades. It would be a sore

blow to his pride to have to confess that he himself had to bribe her with presents.

## VI.—Domestic Ceremonies.

31. In the 5th, 7th, or 9th month of pregnancy, whenever it may be most convenient,

Distribution of *kukarae* or *kōhal* during pregnancy. *kukarae*, a bread baked in seven layers (*uwa k/hwa*), or *kōhal*, a pottage of grain boiled in water, is distributed in alms. An aged lady of the kindred or village who has been blessed with several offspring is called in to place the pan (*tabakhac*) or pot on the fire, and receives a measure of grain or a few annas as her reward for lending her auspicious aid to the ceremony. This is a custom which concerns the women only. As a rule it takes place in the husband's household. If the girl's people live in the same village, they will no doubt participate in it by sending over some grain or flour. Even if they live at distance, they will probably prefer to participate, though nothing is really expected of them. But it occasionally happens that the expectant mother makes a show of keeping her secret from her husband till after the 5th month and goes and tells her own people. In this case it is for them to carry out the ceremony, but the husband's household will no doubt assist if they get to hear of it. If the husband is well-to-do, there may be a second ceremony in his house.

32. A woman doesn't touch meat or soup during her confinement. After the birth of her child, she is given a kind of pudding made of flour and water

Diet during confinement and after. flavoured with a little salt and ghee, and is kept on this diet for five or six days, when she's promoted to wheaten bread soaked in ghee or milk.

33. The father tries to absent himself from the house during the delivery. The woman is lodged in a room apart with a maid-servant or midwife. The umbilical cord is severed by the latter or even by the mother herself.

Birth.

34. The birth of a son is announced in three shouts to the villagers by the midwife or by grandmother or some other female relative, and three shots are fired to carry the glad news far and wide. The villagers come to offer their congratulations in the evening. With them come the village mulla and his pupils, and are suitably rewarded for reciting the *hashrā* verse from the Koran. As a rule two to four lambs are slaughtered and distributed, and the night is spent in feasting, dancing (*hwaba*) and general rejoicing. Women exchange apricots, apricot-stones *mandaka* and sweets among themselves. If a son has been anxiously desired, expenses may be incurred on an extravagant scale.

35. The midwife is presented with a wrapper (*tikraī*). The husband presents a wrapper to the mother-in-law and sister-in-law, and to each of his elder brothers' wives and cousins sons' wives. The mother and sisters of the young mother each present her with a wrapper, as well as with a shirt (*kamis*) or a cap or the like for the newborn. Her other female relations present a wrapper or eight annas or a rupee. Her brother discharges his obligations with a ram or he-goat.

36. The child is given his name on the third or seventh day. The name is generally chosen with some care. The *asān* is first uttered in the child's ears, and the child is then regarded as a Musalmān. Then they get a mulla to open a Koran at random, and the first letter of the first word on the first line of the page is taken as a guide to the appropriate name to be given. Or the relatives are asked to volunteer their suggestions, and the choice is made between them by casting lots (*pucha*) with sheep-droppings. Sweets are then distributed and the gathering disperses, the mulla waiting behind for a meal and a turban. It should be noted that the male members, and the father more

particularly, are not allowed to see the child for the first twenty or twenty-five days.

37. The birth of a daughter is passed over in silence.

Birth of a daughter. The parents give her any name they please without troubling a mulla or relatives. Yet a father will be wise to seek to stop a succession of daughters by naming the last *Bula nista* or 'No more' (of the feminine gender), for this can generally be depended upon to break a run of bad luck with the birth of a healthy boy.

38. A child's ears are usually pierced without ceremony on the 3rd or 7th day; in no case

Ear-boring. is the piercing delayed over the month. The ears of a boy are pierced at the bottom of the lobes; occasionally the right ear is also pierced in the middle. Girls have each ear pierced in five places along the outer rim. Two holes are also pierced on the right side of the nose, the one just below the bridge, the other lower down. The piercing is done by some old lady with an ordinary sewing needle. Silk (of any colour) is threaded in the holes, which are bathed with indigo water from time to time, and take about a month to heal.

39. On the fortieth day they clip the infant's hair with a pair of scissors, and sacrifice a

Cutting of the hair. sheep or two, and distribute the cooked meats in the usual manner. Such alms are distributed again when he's six months old. His head is shaved when he's a year old, the occasion (*chāl-wēshāl* or *talīnā khōshae*) being celebrated with rejoicings. The next shaving takes place a year later, when the head is shaved clean save for two small tufts (*chunak*).

40. The circumcision of boys as enjoined by Islām is

Circumcision. universal. The operation is usually performed not later than the 7th year by a mulla, who uses a razor. A few sweets are often distributed in alms after the ceremony. In a well-

to-do house a lamb is sometimes sacrificed. The boy's attention is as usual distracted by the ordinary device of crying out: "Hallo! what's that in the sky?" The mulla throws the foreskin away and treats the wound with ashes of cow-dung or firewood, whichever is handy. A necklace of stone beads (*asal kōpri*) is put round the boy's neck so that he may take no harm from the voice of a woman in her monthly course or other unclean person. He's not allowed to bathe for ten to fifteen days, or whatever time it takes for the wound to heal.

41. They marry within the Pāthān race and observe the usual prohibited degrees laid down by Muhammadan Law. Marriage limits and restrictions. Infant marriage is unknown.

Though they have leanings towards marriages within the kin as the cheapest and at the same time the most friendly arrangement, a daughter generally goes to the highest bidder. In theory her marriage with a blacksmith or other menial is out of the question. But sometimes it's a case of needs must. Witness the instance of the girl who was such a hopeless cripple, no tribesman would give a penny for her, and was married off in consequence to a water-carrier and a Panjābī at that, only to be remarried on widowhood to another of the same alien race and the same humble profession. How much bride-price the Panjābī had to pay, isn't on record; probably very little.

42. Matrimonial alliances arise in several ways. One of the most common is by exchange of girls (*sarai*). If there's nothing to choose between the two girls, no money passes hands. But it's not unusual for something to be given as a make-weight (*parkh*) if one of the girls for instance is of tender year or a widow and the other a maiden of marriageable age. In such a case the amount of bride-price depends on circumstances; it is of course much below the customary rate. If one of the girls die before marriage, full *walwar* has to be paid for the other.

43. A characteristic form of blood-compensation consists of one 'present' and one 'unpresent' girl. There are apparently two ideas at the bottom of the arrangement. On the one hand the aggressor feels the punishment less as he has to pay half the compensation only on the nail. On the other hand he patches up peace with the injured party then and there by the marriage with the one girl, with the prospect of cementing it afresh by a second marriage seventeen years or so later, when the girl yet unborn grows up to marriageable age.

Contracting of unborn girls.  
 44. A maiden not infrequently takes matters into her own hands and elopes with the man of her choice—a not unnatural proceeding in a tribe notorious for its loose ideas of woman. In the event of such an elopement, which is known as *matlagi*, the wrath of the father is appeased by the payment of the usual bride-price.

*Matlagi.*  
 45. More interesting is the system of marriage called *ar*, now apparently almost a thing of the past. The lover, finding the girl's parents will have nothing to do with him, kills a sheep, flings the head into the girl's house, and takes to his heels, with the girl's party in hot pursuit after him. If they overtake him, he comes in for a sound drubbing, but he has gained his purpose for all that. The disposal of the maiden elsewhere is now out of the question. Willy-nilly the father must hand her over to him, and pocket the bride-price and his pride with the best grace he may. Such at any rate was the old custom, but fathers apparently are beginning to jib at it.

*Ar.*  
 46. These are all more or less special cases. In the normal course a betrothal proceeds thus. After the necessary overtures the lad is taken by his father in the company of a mulla and some friends of influence on a formal visit to the

*Betrothal.*



girl's house, where they find the girl and her father awaiting them with his friends. A sheep is slaughtered in honour of the guests. After the repast they discuss the betrothal. If the girl's father is a man of self-respect, he may announce his acceptance of the match and offer up the *fātiha* prayer then and there; but the ordinary man insists on thrashing out the question of the bride-price and expenses before he commits himself. As soon as the betrothal of the young couple, both of whom must be present, has been finally agreed upon, shots are fired, the boy's father giving a reward (*bilundae*) of two or three rupees to those that fire them. He himself and each of his party are presented by the girl's father with a turban, and take their leave. On their return home the lad's father slaughters some sheep and feasts the villagers amid rejoicing and dancing. A few days later the lad's mother goes to the girl's house with a present (*sarlingae*) for the girl, consisting of a shirt, a head-dress and a few rupees.

47. The amount of bride-price or *walwar* depends on the age and personal attractions of the bride and the social position of her parents. It ordinarily ranges from three to five hundred rupees, but cases are known in which as much as a thousand rupees has been paid. It is paid partly in cash, partly in kind, thirty rupees in cash being regarded as equivalent to one hundred rupees in kind.

48. The lad's father often raises a good deal of the bride-price by begging subscriptions (*baspan*) from his fellow-tribemen. The same system is resorted to when a fine or blood-money has to be paid. It is generally collected from flock-owners, preferably during the lambing season of April and May, when a kid or a lamb can be most readily spared.

49. If the whole of the *walwar* is paid over, the betrothal is binding, and can only be broken for special reasons. But if a portion only has been found.

The binding nature of a betrothal.

the girl's father can call upon the lad's father to make good the deficit or renounce all claim to the girl. The difficulty is sometimes got over by accepting payment in instalments.

50. Though not openly sanctioned by tribal custom, cohabitation before marriage is certainly common enough, and a wedding has often to be hurried on to forestall pregnancy.

51. More weddings take place at harvest than at any other time, Wednesdays and Fridays being especially auspicious for the ceremony. The marriage season. Marriages should not be solemnised during the months of Safar, Sha'bān or Jamādi-ul-sāni, months during which they think it ill becomes a good Musalmān to indulge in rejoicing. And the last two days of a month and Tuesdays are especially to be avoided.

52. A few days before the date fixed for the marriage, the youth's father sends two or three bags (*ghind*) of wheat and about a dozen head of sheep to the bride's house, some of which have been provided by his friends. On the afternoon before the great day the bridegroom is conducted thither by a procession (*zūrā*) composed of his parents, sisters and other kinsfolk and friends. On the way guns are fired into the air, every man with a gun getting four annas or  $\frac{5}{8}$  as reward (*bilandae*) from the youth's father. On their arrival they are greeted with rejoicing, and the sheep are slaughtered. The ladies in the procession are put up in the bride's house and the men go to some house in the neighbourhood.

53. With nightfall they begin the dance (*lwaba*). In the old days the two sexes danced together, but the mullas always set their face against it, and as they attributed an unusually severe earthquake to the sinful practice, the tribe has given it up.

54. The dance is kept up till the morning when the company is feasted. Each mem-

Taking the bride to the groom's house for *nikāh*,  
 ber of the procession is presented by the girl's father with a turban the ends of which are dyed with saffron. The bride is attired in garments provided by the youth's father and decked out in jewellery presented by her father; her hair is dressed, henna is applied to her hands, and antimony to her eyes. Then they take her on a horse or camel to the bridegroom's house. The friends and relatives make their presents of cash or sheep, and a dance is kept up till the feast is ready. After the repast the mulla reads the *nikāh* in the usual way, and announces the dower that the groom has settled on his bride. For performing the service he receives a rupee or two.

55. The dower may consist of a mare or some fruit trees,

The dower.  
 or ten rupees or so. But according to good old custom it should

take the form of a couple of sheep. If, as is often the case, the sheep are joint property, the co-sharers make over their shares to the groom, who hands over the sheep to his bride. And when the ewes bring forth in the course of time, the male lambs are regarded by custom as the property of the husband and the female as the property of the wife. Some brides prefer to receive dower in the form of one-third of the *sawāb* or heavenly recompense that will fall to the husband for hospitality or alms given from the household hearth.

56. For the first three nights the bride is kept as a guest

Consummation.  
 in her husband's house, one of the women always sleeping at her

side, possibly in order to demonstrate the modesty and virginity of the bride—neither of which can be safely presumed of a girl in this tribe. And though bride and bridegroom sleep together on the fourth night, it is not till a couple of nights later that consummation is supposed to take place.

57. A few days after the wedding the bride pays a visit to her father's house, when he begs her to forgive him for the bride-price he demanded on her account. And though her forgiveness is usually given, the father may have to purchase it with the gift of some household article on which she has set her heart. This custom is known as *girsāu*.

58. From her parents a bride receives a head-dress, a shirt, a coverlet (*pulman*), one or two druggets (*sarāshi*), a woollen bag for holding bread, a copper pail, a copper pot, and eight to twelve silver earrings. Her family has to spend from ten to seventy rupees on a marriage, while the groom's family will spend from twenty to one hundred and twenty (not counting the *walwar*) chiefly in furnishing store for the feasting. Among other items of their expenditure is the present of a turban to everybody in the wedding party, including the mulla, but this is counterbalanced by everybody—except the mulla—returning the compliment with a cash offering of two to five rupees. Economy is studied whenever possible by celebrating two marriages in the family at the same time.

59. Owing largely no doubt to the effective check in the shape of bride-price, the majority are perforce content with one wife. The chief causes of plural marriages are the barrenness, ill-health or old age of the first wife, and the inheritance of a relative's widow.

60. The usual grounds of divorce are infidelity, disparity of age and incompatibility of temper. The husband has simply to utter the words 'I divorce you' three times over, or to put three clods of earth in the woman's wrapper, and the divorce is complete. On her re-marriage the *walwar*, which in the case of a divorcee is only two hundred or two hundred and fifty rupees, is handed

over to her first husband, though a portion may have to go to those who maintained her after divorce. In the old days a wife used to appeal for divorce from an impotent husband to the *sardār*, who fixed the *walwar* to be paid to him on her remarriage, which it was usually stipulated should take place within a certain time. Such a remarriage is effected without ceremony by the reading of the *nikāḥ*.

61. A widow forms part of the inheritance. Her late husband's younger brother has  
Remarriage of widows. the first claim on her hand and

that without payment of *walwar*. Failing the younger brother, come his heirs, and then the other kin. In no case may she marry an uncle or son of her deceased husband. Nowadays of course a widow's liberty of choice is upheld in the British courts, but even so her *walwar* which ranges from two to four hundred rupees, goes to the heirs of her first husband. If she is encumbered with several children by him, the heirs may prefer to let the second husband off the *walwar* on the understanding that he will support the first family. At the wedding the *nikāḥ* is read, but the ceremony passes off quietly with little show of rejoicing.

62. The dead are washed and wrapped in a winding-sheet and carried out for burial

Burial.

in the tribal graveyard. The mulla traces with his finger the *kalima* and the words 'in the name of God the Compassionate and Merciful' on the winding-sheet, the former at the forehead, the latter at the breast—words that will shine even in the grave and announce to the angels at the resurrection that here lies a true Musalmān who should be passed into Paradise without let or hindrance. Then the mulla reads the *nimās janāza*, and the body is laid in the grave in the usual manner: head to the north, feet to the south, face to the west. Alms are distributed at the grave and again on the return to the house when a sheep is killed and the funeral party feasted, much to the benefit of the departed.

Over the grave are set two small slabs of stone facing each other, one at the head and the other at the feet. In the case of a woman the holy words are traced by the mulla on a stone which is buried near her head, the grave is dug deeper, and one of the tombstones is set at right angles to the other.

63. At the conclusion of the funeral the relatives call

upon the mulla to read the Koran  
Reading the Koran, for the welfare of the departed.

It has to be read once or thrice or some other odd number of times, the more often the better. But it's a question of means, for the mulla charges three and-a-half rupees for each reading. Now mullas have a rough and ready method of getting through the task, for they count one chapter read out in the hearing of a number of people as equivalent to the reading of the same number of chapters read out in the hearing of one. So if he can assemble one hundred and fourteen people together and recite to them one chapter, and that the shortest of the Koran, he has thereby polished off the whole of the one hundred and fourteen chapters at one blow, and the first reading of the Koran is complete.

64. Saints and martyrs to the faith are buried without any ceremony at all. Their bodies

Burial of saints and martyrs. are laid in the grave unwashed and in the clothes worn at death without help from the mulla, for Paradise stands open to them. For when the world was created, the key of Paradise was given to the keeping of a mulla. But one day he unlocked the gate and found two walking within, whom he had never set eyes on before. The one was a martyr and the other a saint of great charity, and they told him that they had simply stepped into Paradise without having to trouble anybody to unlock the gate. In bewilderment the mulla went to God. But God bade him to be of good cheer: saints and martyrs were as the birds of the air who could fly over into a garden, though it were locked and barred against trespasses on all sides.

65. For three days the bereaved family sit in the house and receive visits of condolence from the neighbours, who depart without staying to a meal. But visitors who come from a distance stay overnight, and are feasted with a sheep. Sometimes they bring the sheep with them, but more often they offer a rupee or two as a mark of condolence. A friend of the family will sometimes relieve the bereaved of the entertainment of a guest, by putting him up and taking the condolence money himself. On the anniversary of the death alms are distributed, and this ceremony, which is known as *tīlūā*, is repeated year after year if the family can afford it.

## VII.—Customary Law.

66. The most correct sequel to adultery in the old days was for the husband to kill his guilty wife; and, if he didn't do the same to her paramour, to cut off his nose. This was his right and led to no blood-feud. If the couple eloped to another tribe, they only ventured to return on payment of *nēk* or compensation to the injured husband. The *nēk* was eight hundred rupees, of which five hundred or at the least four hundred, were paid in cash, and the rest in kind, the payment being spread over four years. In any further re-adjustment, thirty rupees in cash were taken as the equivalent of one hundred in kind. The rates were somewhat enhanced or the *nēk* exacted with more promptness if the injured husband was of high rank. Eight hundred rupees is the rate for *nēk* to this day. The adulteress remains with the paramour once the payment is made. But if he can't or won't pay the *nēk*, he will have to pay, at any rate, one hundred rupees as *sharmāna* or dishonour-money. This gives him no rights over the woman, unless he provides a girl in exchange: she remains the property of her husband, who can remarry her where he will and pocket the *waṭwar*. Until the remarriage, she lives with her people.



67. Seduction of a betrothed girl is similarly compensated. If the disappointed bridegroom has paid over the *walwar* in whole or part, he receives eight hundred rupees from the seducer, and out of it makes good any deficit in the *walwar* to the girl's father. If the *walwar* hasn't been paid at all, the compensation goes to the girl's father, the bridegroom receiving *sharmāna* only. The seducer has to marry the girl.

68. Blood-feuds were never apparently allowed to go far within the tribe, for it was too much exposed to danger from outside to be able to afford the luxury of private revenge. The elders took the first opportunity to intervene, and settle the feud by compensations. Here are the rates of compensation :—

For a murder...	...	...	Rs. 800 cash in 4 equal annual instalments.
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For the loss or total dis-	}	Rs. 400 in 4 yearly instal-
abling of a limb or an eye		

For the fracture of an arm,	}	Rs. 25 to Rs. 100.
thigh-bone or shin		

For the loss of or injury to a	}	Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 accord-
tooth		

69. Although the Dumaqs profess to follow Muhammadan Law in matters of inheritance, women are rigorously excluded from succession, which devolves on male agnates alone. The ordinary order is sons (equally, if born in lawful wedlock, whether by the same mother or not); father; full brothers; nephews; uncles; first cousins. The right of representation is only recognized in the case of deceased son's sons, who inherit *per stirpes* with sons. The sons of deceased brothers or sons of deceased uncles only inherit in the absence of living brothers or living uncles. Movable and immovable property appear to be treated alike, but property

self-acquired by one of the sons during association is not thrown into the common pot on the father's death. Any personal property possessed by the wife descends to her husband on death.

70. Women are entitled to maintenance only, till marriage or death. There are, however, said to be precedents of a

Maintenance. husband bequeathing property to his widow, presumably when he died without male issue. But the widow enjoys nothing more than a life interest in it.

71. Instances are also cited of a gift of the whole property to one of the heirs without consulting the others. But such

Gifts. cases, if they occur at all, are apparently very rare. A gift of this nature would certainly not be recognized if made outside the tribe.

72. Unless somebody else has been expressly nominated by the deceased for the purpose, guardianship devolves on the nearest male relative who would succeed to the inheritance in the absence of a minor heir. In the event of all the sources of maintenance being exhausted, the guardian (*wakil*) may alienate the property of his ward, whether movable or immovable. It is for him to arrange for the marriage of the womenfolk, though the bride-price goes, of course, to the ward.

73. The right of pre-emption is recognized in respect of a sale of land and water. It

Right of pre-emption. belongs to the owner of adjoining property, and the claim must be made forthwith on receipt of the news of the sale. If there is any dispute as to the *bona fides* of the consideration, it is a matter for arbitration.

74. Partition often arises on the marriage of one of the sons; quarrels among the

Partition. women are certainly the commonest cause. Equal shares are given to the sons. If a son is born after partition he gets the share reserved by the father.



## THE JATṬ.

(Based chiefly on material furnished by Mir Asād  
Khān, Nāib of Bhāg.)

1. 78,397 Jatṭ were enumerated at the Census of 1911,

Strength. 60,238 being found in Kalāt,  
13,136 in Silbi, 4,765 in Las Bēla,

170 in Quetta-l'ishīn, 80 in Lōṛalai, 5 in the Bōlān, and 3  
in Zhōb. This fragmentary note relates to the Jatṭ of the  
Kachhī (43,102), especially those living in the Bhāg Nīabat,  
and deals with betrothal and marriage only.

2. After the usual private negotiations for a marriage

Betrothal. have been satisfactorily concluded,  
a deputation composed of the

boy's relatives and friends of both sexes proceed on the appointed night to the girl's house. Greetings are exchanged, and the offer of marriage is formally accepted by the girl's party. Her father presents his future son-in-law with a turban of silk or cotton according to his means; and the boy's mother presents a red mantle to the girl.

3. Sweetmeats are then passed round the room, and the

The *jhūmar* or dance. drummer (*langhā*) strikes up for  
a dance (*jhūmar*). The company

range themselves round him; an equal number of men and women dancing apart on either side, and singing in chorus as they dance to the beat of his drum. This is the winding-up of the *sāng* or betrothal.

4. The question of bride-price was of course thrashed  
out at the private negotiations.

The bride-price. It ranges from two to six hundred

rupees according to the girl's attractions and social status. A certain amount is paid over to her parents before marriage, and they are supposed to devote the whole of it to furnishing her *ḍāf* or marriage portion, which consists of jewellery and

about half-a-dozen changes of raiment. They also present a suit of clothes to the groom. The groom's people on their part have one change of raiment made for each of the couple.

5. At the beginning of the lunar month in which the

*Bukī or chakī-chung.* wedding is to take place, the drummer is sent out in the

neighbourhood to collect the women for a ceremony in the lad's house, called *bukī* or *chakī-chung*. When the company is assembled, the lad's sister puts seven handfuls of grain, handful by handful, into a handmill, and the grain is slowly ground. The proceedings end with a dance. And every day until the wedding there are dances in both houses.

6. On the night of the *chakī-chung*, the womenfolk of

*Mekandī chikōna*, untying the bride's tresses. the lad's household go in a body to the house of the bride, to untie her tresses. And they present

five to ten rupees on behalf of the groom towards the furnishing of the bride's *wanwāh* or bridal food, which consists of wheaten bread, sugar and *ghī*. From this night onward till the wedding the bride is kept out of sight, and her body is rubbed with an oily cosmetic called *bāṣan*, to keep it soft and clear.

7. The favourite dates for a wedding are the 11th, 14th,

The wedding procession. 25th, 27th and 29th of the lunar month. In the afternoon the

bridegroom's procession sets out towards the bride's house, where provisions for the feast have been sent on before, and the bridal array and marriage portion are displayed among the womenfolk.

8. After the feast the women of the bride's party go in a

Anointing with henna. procession with beat of drum to stain the bridegroom with henna

on hands and feet. And the bride is anointed apart by the womenfolk of the groom's party.

9. The anointing is followed by a dance, and the singing of two hymeneals. The first is called *sēhra*, and runs something like this :—

The hymeneals, *sēhra* and *samī*.

*The mother rejoiced, for the desire of her son was fulfilled :  
and the father moreover was glad, saying : " Let us  
sit by the side of the bride."*

*A necklace of price has been wrought ; let us take our  
seat in the mansion : and you, oh my brother, take your  
seat and rejoice exceedingly.*

*Oh groom, oh lord of the darling, the peeress of princesses :  
arise from your bed, and encircle the neck of the bride  
with the necklace that has been wrought.*

And the second is called *samī* :—

*In my house there is the sound of rejoicing ; the dance is  
a-foot : my kinsmen are showering gifts on the minstrels.*

*The finest of fish have I fried : God give me the loved one,  
for it was for her, for her that I fried.*

*Black, even as lamp-black are the eyes of my beloved ; her  
locks are black serpents : all the washing of the world  
can never wash away the black stains wherewith those  
eyes and those locks have stained the heart of her lover.*

*Over my head I cast the white mantle ; spots of saffron  
there are on the four edges thereof ; and I cry, saying :  
" Bring death to the Brāhūns, oh God ! for they have  
taken Shāhpur away into captivity."*

*Under the shady shade of the mango I take my stand : on  
the name of God do I call, and my ears catch the sound  
of a slumber-song to my brother.*

10. Dance and singing over, they sleep for a while, until

The lopping of the *kanḍī* tree. they are awakened by the sound of a drum. Then men and women assemble together, and go in a procession to the groom to rouse him from his slumbers. Over him they raise a canopy

of red cloth, held up by four men with a couple of swords and a couple of scabbards which are fastened to the four corners. And the procession moves on: first the drummer leading the way, then the groom beneath the canopy with a sword stuck under his arm, and then the men and the women in the rear. So they march till they come to a *kandī* tree (*prosopis spicigera*), and here they halt. And the bridegroom steps forth, and lops a branch from the tree. A brother or one of the near blood takes the branch and lays it on top of the canopy, and the procession again sets off in state—this time to the house of the bride. The *nikāḥ* is read by the mulla on their arrival.

11. But the bride is left alone with her mother and sister and some bosom friend may be. The circumcision of the bride. And the midwife circumcises her, catching hold of the lips of her private parts and passing the razor lightly over the top. Two to five rupees, or the cast-off clothes of the bride are her wages for this service. The reasons given for the circumcision are three: it is regarded (1) as carrying out an ordinance of the Prophet, (2) as leading to fecundity, and (3) as cooling undue desire. Consummation is looked upon as the best, or rather the only, cure for the wound. And if consummation does not follow within a few hours, inflammation sets in. Hence it is that in the rare cases where marriage takes place when one or the other of the couple has not reached puberty, the operation is postponed till effective cohabitation can be expected.

12. After the *nikāḥ* and circumcision the bride is decked out in her bridal clothes and ornaments. And the men take their leave, only a few friends remaining behind to escort the groom into the bridal chamber, where all the women are assembled. At the door is placed the lid of an earthen pot which the groom smashes with a kick as he enters. As soon as he sets foot on the bedstead

*Lāwān* or the knocking together of the heads.



where the bride is seated on a fair cloth, she turns her head bashfully away. He seats himself opposite to her and turns her face towards the Kāba. His sister then takes the heads of both of them, and brings them gently together seven times, saying : " the first *lāwāṇ*," " the second *lāwāṇ*," and so on. This done, she gets a present of money or a cow from the groom, and the female minstrels who are present get tips from his kinsmen.

13. The groom's sister pours some salt into his hands.

*Til mē/rē*, the doling out of  
sesame.

And the salt is poured from his hands to the hands of his bride and back again, seven times over, and is at last given to the minstrels. This is called the doling out of sesame, though salt is now-a-days used in the ceremony.

14. Then the groom's sister places a ball of cotton on the bride's forehead, and the

*Phul chunnā*, the pulling of  
flowers.

groom picks it up. This is done seven times, to the singing of the song :—

" Behold ! my dear one, fair of body and gentle of birth,  
is picking flowers with his bride."

15. Then the mother of the bride comes forward with a cup of milk. Seven times the

The sipping of milk.

groom sips the milk, and his bride takes seven sips after him. The rest is given to the unmarried boys and girls in the room, one sip each. No one who is married, man or woman, may drink from the cup.

16. And last of all the mother of the bride places some molasses in her daughter's hand.

*Gur chhurwāṇā*, the snatch-  
ing of the molasses.

The groom makes a movement to get possession of it, but the womenfolk signal to the bride not to part with it. So the couple struggle for its possession. And as soon as the groom gets the mastery, the couple are left to themselves.

17. Meanwhile the dance and the music are kept up outside. At the door waits the

Consummation.

bride's mother. When all is done,

she goes in and pours some water over the mouth of the fainting bride. And the groom comes forth from the chamber; and the dance and the music cease forthwith and the wedding night is over.

18. On the morrow there are races of all sorts; mares,

Races on the morrow.

oxen, donkeys, camels, bullock-carts, all take part, their owners

vying for prizes presented by the groom. That evening the bride is taken to her new home, where cooked rice and sweet drinks are distributed among the people. So ends the wedding jollity.

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## THE LŌRĪ.

(Chiefly from material compiled by Rāi Bahādur Dīwān  
Jamīat Rāi, C.I.E.)

### I.—Tribal History, Constitution, etc.

1. At the Census of 1911 the strength of Lōrīs in Baluchistān was returned at 10,936,  
Strength. being scattered over Kalāt (6,481), Las Bēla (1,352), Sībī (1,298), Lōṛalai (820), Quetta-Pishin (668), Chāgai (161), Zhōb (143), and Bōlān (13).

2. They are in fact dispersed all over the country.  
Distribution. Among the Balōch and Brāhūīs at any rate each section or clan of an important tribe has a group of them attached to it, and the tribal headmen fully alive to the value of their services are jealous guardians of their rights and privileges. The following note relates to the Lōrīs who live about Kalāt, Mungachar and Mastung, and recognise the chiefship of Sardār Dōst Muhammad, Shāhizai Lōrī—himself the main authority for the statements recorded in it.

3. Not to be outdone by the tribesmen with whom they live, the Lōrīs claim descent  
Origin. from Mīr Hamza, the uncle of the Prophet. He had, they say, six sons Kambar, Ahmad, Gurgin, Mandō, Sumāl and Sarmast. But when the time came for a division of the patrimony and the assignment of occupations to the sons, Mīr Hamza forgot all about the unfortunate Sarmast, just because he happened to be away from home.

4. So there was nothing for it but to make a blacksmith  
Name. of him, and as a sop for this inferior occupation, Mīr Hamza said he should always have a *lōṛ* (Sindhi, 'share') in the

earnings of his brethren. And blacksmith he remains to this day, serving his brethren; yet for all that, he's a Lōrī or sharer in their fortunes. Among themselves they prefer the name Lōpi, but what it means, they don't know themselves. As for Dōmb, it's only an occupational term, applied to a Lōrī who goes in for minstrelsy and work connected with domestic ceremonies like births and marriages.

5. Sarmast had a son called Shambō, and two daughters Mami and Halima. Here are Sarmast's descendants. the names of Shambō's sons and

grandsons:—

Sōbhā	...	<div> <div>Mirdād.</div> <div>Kalāti.</div> <div>Yār Muhammad.</div> </div>	Mehrān	...	<div> <div>Jāfar.</div> <div><u>Khabar</u>.</div> <div>Anām.</div> </div>
Yār M u - hammad.		<div> <div>Mithā.</div> <div>Musā.</div> <div>Jalāi.</div> </div>	Nōtak	...	<div> <div>Allahdād.</div> <div>Tili.</div> <div>Gulistān.</div> <div>Dureak.</div> <div>Shambē.</div> </div>
Shakar	...	<div> <div>Mehrān.</div> <div>Aidō.</div> <div>Gohrām.</div> </div>			
Sālār	...	<div> <div>Nōtak.</div> <div>Rāzai.</div> <div>Tili.</div> <div>Shambē.</div> </div>	Piri	...	<div> <div>Hōrān.</div> <div>Rahmat.</div> <div>Dilshād.</div> <div>Sōnā.</div> </div>

Now one or other of Shambō's sisters married a Muhammad Hasni called Shāhī, and from them sprang the Shāhizai, the Lōrī *sardārkhel*, or chiefly section.

6. They are divided into innumerable sections (*takar*) and sub-sections (*shalwār*). Although no attempt was made to classify them at the Census, a rough analysis was prepared for this note and is given as an Appendix.

7. In the old days when the Khān of Kalāt called out the *lashkar* of the Brāhūi Confederacy, the Lōrīs had to furnish their quota, section by section.

Tribal warfare in former times.

like the tribesmen, their duties being to see to the guns, repair damaged weapons and make bullets.

8. In theory each *shalwār* or sub-section has its *mōtbar*,  
 Tribal officers. each *ṭakar* or section its *ṭakrī*,  
 the whole tribe—or rather such

of this scattered community as live in the heart of the Brāhūi country—being under one *sardār*. The offices of *mōtbar*, *ṭakrī* and *sardār* are hereditary, the office descending from father to eldest son, or failing male issue, to the eldest brother. This at any rate is the theory: but as the present *sardār* was the youngest of three sons and was nominated to the *sardārī* by his father, the practice is clearly not universal.

9. In addition to fees levied on individual cases settled,  
 The Sardār's revenue. the Sardār receives a couple of  
*kāsas* of wheat every year after  
 the *rabi* crop from each married male in his tribe. Each *ṭakrī* collects this revenue from his *ṭakar*, deducting a *chārak* or one-fourth as his personal share. The Sardār's revenue ranges from one hundred and fifty to three hundred rupees in a good year. Up to thirty or forty years ago the revenue rates were as high as ten *kāsas* of wheat and a sheep from each family, this being what the Lōrīs before undertook to pay the Sardār and his descendants in perpetuity, if he returned home in triumph, when he set forth under Nasir *Khān*, the great, *Khān* of Kalāt, to do battle with Alī Mardān.

10. Civil suits occurring in a *ṭakar* are settled by the  
 The Sardār's duties. *ṭakrī*, who collects the *chārak*,  
 or one-fourth of the value of the  
 thing in dispute, as fees. These fees are paid over to the Sardār annually with the revenue, each *ṭakrī* again retaining one-fourth of his collections as his private share. Suits which the *ṭakrī* is unable to settle, go before the Sardār himself. Much the same procedure obtains in dis-

putes of a more serious character. If the *fakrī* cannot settle them or if they affect members of more than one *fakhar*, they are taken up by the Sardār in consultation with the *fakrīs*. Occasionally the tribal Sardār intervenes, and if the part he plays is effective, he comes in for a share in the *chātrak* or *sardārī* share of the fines. But judicial work forms only a part of the Sardār's duties. He is expected to dispense hospitality to all who come to him on business or otherwise, and the claims on his purse are so pressing that he has been known to pawn his wife's jewellery to meet them.

11. Serfs are to be found in the households of the well-to-do. Most of them were born and bred in the household.

Serfs.

The males lend a hand in the smithy and outdoor work; the women grind corn, fetch water, cook food, wash clothes, look after children and make themselves generally useful in the house. Two *Lōṛīs* are occasionally co-sharers (M.<sup>1</sup> *rashik*, P.<sup>2</sup> *sharik* in a serf. Thus, the Sardār provided medical treatment for a serf girl belonging to the household of a friend of his, on condition that in the event of her recovery he would acquire half rights in her.

12. They are evidently well treated on the whole. The

Their treatment.

Sardār freed one of his lads as *khairāt* in the name of God some

time back, but the freedman has always declined to leave his old master. Concubinage with female serfs is said to be unknown, yet they are not infrequently taken in marriage. If a man marries a serf who belongs to his household either by virtue of birth or acquisition, the children of the union take the status of the father, ranking as if they were his children by a woman of his own kind.

<sup>1</sup> M.=Mökkī, the *Lōṛī* jargon, § 15; P.=Persian; Br.=Brāhōī; Bal.=Balōchī, etc.

13. The full status of freedman can be acquired with money saved by serving others than the master or received as *khairāt*. A couple of serfs who managed to make their pile in Sind recently, succeeded in marrying some Mēngal girls in Nushki on their return. Male serfs are often freed in the name of God in time of serious illness.

## II.—Language.

14. The common domestic language is Balōchi or Brāhūi, though many speak Jaḍgāli and a corrupt form of Persian. But they also boast a language all their own which every child must learn. It's a secret jargon, generally reserved for the presence of strangers. Others call it Lōrichinī, but the Lōris themselves call it Mōkki.

15. And this is the account they give of its origin. Yā Āli, the Prophet's cousin and Kambar were worsted in a fight with the Gabrs and fled, their enemies in hot pursuit. And it would have gone hard with them had not Mōkō (Br.), the spider, shewed them the way to a cave. Here they took refuge and eluded their pursuers, though a crossgrained lizard did his best to divulge their presence by nodding his ugly head. When the coast was clear, Mōkō, the spider, said to Yā Āli: 'To you I've given the gift of my tongue, give it to whomsoever you will.' And Yā Āli gave it to the father of all the Lōris, and hence it is that they talk Mōkki, the spider language. There's another tale connected with their refuge in the cave worth the telling. Kambar was bitten by a snake, but Yā Āli sucked the poison out of the wound, and spat it on the ground. From this spittle there sprouted a plant—bitter because of the poison, sweet because of Yā Āli's saliva. And the plant was none other than the tobacco plant, from which all the tobacco in the world has sprung.

16. To this day they talk Mōkkī when they don't want outsiders to know too much of what they are saying. Thus if they go to officiate at a wedding and only come in for unappetising scraps of food after the tribesmen have feasted on the dainties, they will give vent to their disappointment among themselves to their heart's content in their Mōkki gibberish.

17. Though the stock vocabulary doesn't seem very extensive, words can be coined *ad libitum* by transmogrifying words borrowed from any language that comes to hand. Metathesis—or turning words inside out—is particularly common: *dipar* (P. *pidar*), father; *sipar* (P. *pisar*), son; *sub* (Bal. *bus*), goat; *shēm* (Bal. *mēsh*), sheep; *shipī* (Br. *pishī*), cat; *shpēng* (Br. *bishēnk*), bread-bag. There are several affixes, *na-*, *ni-*, *la-*: *natauk* (P. *taug*), bracelet; *nilab* (Br. *lab*), bride-price; *lapūli* (Br. *pūli*), nose-ring. There is apparently only one suffix, *-ōsk*: *hāthōsk* (Hind. *hāth*), hand.

### III.—Religion.

18. They are professed Sunnis. But they are lax enough, and tainted with Shīāh heterodoxy.

19. This is especially noteworthy in the celebration of the Muharram (M. *brustānk rōch*) by the womenfolk. On the first day they set up a shed as a dwelling for Bibi Fātima (*Bibi Fātimai lōgh*) a few paces from the settlement, and garnish it with matting and rugs and anything else they can spare. For nine days they go from door to door begging for flour, rice, *ghī* and the like, and reassemble in the evening to mourn. One of the women heads the procession with the cry: 'Two sons of Bibi Fātima were done to death by infidels!' And the others follow her with the



lamentation '*Yā Hasan! yā Husain!*' On the tenth day they make four effigies of cloth to represent Fātima, her daughter, Hasan and Husain, and place them in the centre of Bibi Fātima's dwelling, and stand around them beating their breasts, and wailing '*yā Hasan! yā Husain!*' At night they wrap the effigies in clean cloth and bury them in the graveyard. At the grave they offer up prayers and distribute dates. On their return they bathe in a stream and wend their way back to Bibi Fātima's dwelling. Here all the supplies they collected during the last nine days are cooked. Some of the food is distributed in alms, and the rest eaten by the women. Though debarred from these ceremonies, the men make some show of keeping the Muharram. During it they refrain from cohabiting with their wives, and like the women and children leave their hair unwashed. On the last day they go to the graveyard, visiting the graves of their relatives first of all, and strew flowers and sprinkle water over them.

20. On the first day of the month of Safar the women of

The first of Safar. the chiefly Shāhizai section subscribe two annas each among

themselves, and buy sweetmeats and invite other women of the tribe to a gathering at noon in honour of Bibi Fātima. No male, not even a male infant, may be present at the gathering. Nor is a woman great with child allowed to offer her subscription or to attend or partake of the sweets, for there is always the lively danger that she may have a male child in her womb. There was a case a few years back of a Shāhizai woman, three months gone with child, who was present at the gathering and had a miscarriage that same afternoon.

21. All but children under seven keep the fast of Ramzān. It is particularly meri-

The Ramzān. torious to give alms of rice

and bread, and sweets or dates—but no meat—to holy men, strangers and the poor, and to cohabit with one's

wife on the 7th and 9th taking a bath on the following mornings. It is only on these occasions that a certain hair on the head can be cleansed.

22. The Shāhizai section boasts a mulla among its

Mullas.

members; other sections patronise the mulla of the tribe to which they are attached. At Ramzān the Shāhizai pay their mulla four annas a head for every man, woman and child, as *sar-sāya*. At a marriage a mulla gets a rupee for reading the *nikāḥ*; and at a funeral two rupees for reciting the Koran. He also receives any articles of clothing that the deceased has ever worn. Every Lōrī gives a tithe of the grain he receives from his *bōtar* or master to the mulla.

23. They have a special reverence for Ghaus-i-Āzam,

Shrines.

and every family sacrifices a sheep or goat at his shrines in Mastung, Kalāt, Mungachar or Nushkī. Thither resort people of all classes in case of sickness. After the *rabī* crop each *ṭakrī* collects four annas a head from every adult male in his *ṭakar*, the money collected being spent on *khairāt* in the name of the Pir. Lōrīs of all sections resort to the Pir Shāhī Zīarat at Nushkī, where a cairn of stones marks the site of the *mehmān khāna* or guest-house of Pir Shāhī, the progenitor of the Shāhizai.

24. The Sardār is held sacred, and an oath taken by

The sacrosanct chief.

placing one's right hand on his beard is accepted as gospel. It will settle the most thorny disputes even between sections. Cases of painful labour are speedily overcome by giving the women some water in which his beard has been dipped. If a man is suffering from intermittent fever, he will cure himself if he snatches the first morsel of food the Sardār is putting to his mouth at a meal, and eats it himself.

25. Their reverence for fire is variously manifested in their daily round as blacksmiths (§ 34), in times of sickness (§ 36) and at the wedding ceremony (§ 63).

Fire-worship.

26. They resort to ordeals by water and fire. In the former the suspect has to keep under water for a set time. In the latter he is made to walk seven paces with a heated ploughshare in his right palm. Between the ploughshare and his hand there is a piece of paper inscribed with 'Yāsīn.' If his palm is blistered or the paper scorched at the end of his walk, he is guilty: otherwise he's innocent, and his accuser has to pay a thousand rupees as compensation.

Trials by ordeal.

27. The fear of the evil eye is universal among them. A good while ago the Sardār's seven year old daughter went to a marriage party at Nushkī and was unfortunate enough to attract the eye of a Bādīnī who gave open expression to his admiration of her looks. She fell ill then and there, and died on the seventh day, when they found the print of a hand on her back. The best cures against evil eye are to inhale the smoke of a burning rag torn from the shirt of him who casts the blight, or to throw dust taken from under his feet on the fire.

The evil eye.

28. Evil spirits are always lying in wait, and charms have to be got from Sayyids and mullas to ward them off. Their pet haunts are the Mard-i-ghaib mosque near Kalāt, the Lakrī graveyard close by, and places where dead have been washed for burial or which have been used by Hindus as burning-grounds. He's a bold man who ventures near any of these haunted spots by night, if one may judge by an unpleasant experience the Sardār himself has to relate. It all happened some twenty years ago as he was passing the

Evil spirits.

Mard-i-ghaib after sunset. In the gloaming he saw a white-robed figure mounted on a black donkey and heard a voice cry out: 'Wait a while, Dōst Muhammad, I'm coming.' Thus forewarned the Sardār began to mumble the *Āyat-ul-kursī* from the Koran, and the ghostly visitant vanished. But the Sardār hadn't got far, before he beheld a woman in white. In the name of God and the Prophet he adjured her to leave him, muttering the verse from the Holy Writ all the time. In a twinkling she grew to giant's size, so that he could not see up to her head; then she dwindled away just as quickly, until she resumed the stature of a mortal, and vanished. So he went on his way, but up came a big white dog, and circled round him twice or thrice. He behaved so strangely that the holy verse came once more to the Sardār's lips, and the dog suddenly opened his mouth and exclaimed in the most polished Balōchī: 'If you hadn't known that verse, I should have made a meal of you' and with that he too disappeared. But when the Sardār had reached the Lakrī graveyard, out jumped a *fakīr*, and abused him roundly in Jadgāli, and the holy verse had to be mumbled all over again, before he vanished into thin air. But worse was to come, for stones began to shower down on all sides, but though the Sardār was struck, he was none the worse, thanks no doubt to being armed with the holy verse. So he put his best leg foremost, and hurried through the fusillade to Kalāt. He couldn't get in at the Mastung gate, as the sentry hadn't got the key. He had better luck at the Gīlkand gate, but of the sentries who opened it one was struck down by a stone on his cheek, and the other had the barrel of his gun smashed in. Once inside the gates the Sardār rushed breathless into a baker's shop hard by, but before they could slam the door to, a stone brought a lamp with a crash to the ground. But the Sardār and the baker kept reciting the verse until midnight, when the stones at last ceased. The Sardār was ill for forty days after it, and only owed his recovery to a talisman given him by his mulla. He hasn't been near Kalāt since.

29. The jackal is particularly ominous. He has two cries : ' *Yā Hasan, Yā Husain!* ' which forebodes death, and ' *Kāo! Kāo!* ' which foretells rain. No Lōrī will journey southwards on a Thursday, or do blacksmith's work on a Friday.

30. He will not cut a fig-tree (M. *nī-anjir*, P. *anjir*) or a vine (M. *nī-angīr*, P. *angīr*) for both are trees of paradise. True, there's a case on record of a Lōrī felling a fig-tree some few years back for a Dēhwār of Mastung, who offered him half the timber for the job, but the trunk fell on him and broke his leg, and he didn't live to tell the tale. Nor will Lōrīs cut trees on Chiltan hill. A dozen of them set out to cut trees on the hill some thirty years back. From the first one they cut, there poured forth milk, from the second blood, and a couple of snakes from the third. They were all blinded and lost their way, and though they were rescued by a search party, they died within a week. Their names are still remembered as a warning to others.

#### IV.—Occupation.

31. They are blacksmiths by hereditary calling. Like loyal blacksmiths they look upon fire with special reverence as God's gift to David, brought from purgatory (M. *naḍḍa*, P. *ḍḍakh*), when David begged for the wherewithal to melt iron.

32. They produce fire with flint (M. *nasing*, P. *sang*) and steel. For tinder they use the woolly substance on the buds of the wild plant *khardana*, or old rags soaked in saltpetre and dried.

33. Before a man brings a new anvil into use, he invites a small company, and buys twenty annas worth of sweets. Some of

the sweets are flung on the fire as an offering, and the rest are passed round the company. Then a short prayer is offered up, and the anvil is erected.

34. Every morning before the day's work is begun he first addresses (or at any rate  
Beginning the day's work. ought to address) this prayer to the fire : "Oh fire, for as much as thou didst preserve our Prophet Abraham in thy arms, even so preserve this my iron !" Live coal is not supposed to be touched with hand or foot ; there's a special implement to collect it called *shāgird* or disciple.

35. Even his tools have their own special prayers or thanksgiving to offer. These are  
The prayers of the tools. the invocations of each as it performs its work :—

Anvil (M. *nişandān*, P. *sindān*) 'Yā Karīm !'

Hammer (M. *nukīna*) 'Yā Karīm ! yā Rahīm !'

Heavy hammer (M. *nodastī*, P. *dodastī*) 'Yā Jabbār ! yā Qahār !

Bellows (M. *samak*, P. *dam*) 'Yāhū !'

Blowpipe (M. *riakara*) 'Yāhū yā man hū !'

Tongs (M. *niambu*, P. *ambūr*) 'Yā Hannān ! yā Mannān !'

Drill (M. *naşumat*) 'Yā Hayyih ! yā Qaiyūm !'

Scissors (M. *nikāt*) 'Lā ilāhā ! illallāh !'

Chisel (M. *kalab*) 'Lā ilāh ! illā Fattāh !'

36. The bellows and anvil are endowed with powers of healing in cases of childlessness, sickness and other adversities.  
Worship of the tools. Their powers are invoked, and the childless woman, the sick or sufferer is given a little of the ashes to eat. A sheep or goat is killed in each family after the *rabī* crop ; some of the blood is sprinkled on the anvil, and a piece of the flesh is thrown on the fire as a sacrifice. The meat is then well boiled ; in the water it was boiled in they cook some coarse ground wheat into a porridge they call *qal*.

Of the meat and the *dal* some is distributed among the poor, and the rest consumed by the family.

37. Every year a Lōrī has to smithy for his *bōlār* or

Duties.

master free of all cost a plough-share, a small axe, a large and a

small knife and a razor. At the wedding of a girl in the *bōlār's* family he has to furnish twenty iron rings, two iron spoons (M. *nikābgīr*) and a kind of iron comb (*mākhask*). At the marriage of a boy, he supplies a pair of tweezers, a knife and a razor. If the *bōlār* wants other articles at any time, the Lōrī must be provided with the iron and given half the usual wage. Thus he will get a rupee for a saddle, ten annas for a pair of stirrups, eight annas for a spade, four annas for a hoe, a mattock or a lock and chain, two annas for a pair of scissors or pincers, an anna for a sickle, and four annas for shoeing a horse.

38. But over and above their smithy work they have

Duties at domestic ceremonies.

plenty to do at domestic ceremonies. Thus their womenfolk

must attend at child-birth, wait on the mother, wash the soiled clothes, look after the infant, and so forth. At weddings the Lōrī summons the guests, prepares the food, and serves it round the company, while his women have to make an ointment of turmeric and ground barley, and rub the bride's body with it for three days before the wedding. At funerals they summon the guests, cook and serve round the food.

39. In return for his services a Lōrī receives one *kāsa* of

Remuneration.

wheat at the time of sowing for each pair of plough bullocks and

a *kāsa* of grain for each *kharṁār* at harvest time with a bundle of ears of corn, while on the return from Kachhi he is entitled to one *kāsa* of *judrī* out of each camel-load brought up-country. Every year he's given a sheep or goat out of the flock, with the wool of another to boot. The

head, feet, entrails and hide of every beast slaughtered for food are his perquisite. At the birth of a boy in his *bōtār's* family he gets a rupee, but has to content himself with eight annas if it's a girl. At a wedding in the family he comes in for all the money the guests offer as *sargasht*, and the bride's old clothes if she comes from his *bōtār's* family, while if the family provides the groom, he gets a special *dād*, as it's called, consisting of a turban and a donkey or four goats. On the seventh day after a death, when the women put off mourning and wash their hair with oil and fuller's earth, he gets all that's left over, and as each relative who comes to condole brings some fuller's earth, a *chhittuck* of oil and half a *kāsa* of grain, this is no mean perquisite, especially as he gets the whole of the wheat into the bargain.

40. It is thus clear that a Lōrī's pillet in the tribe is not to be despised, and it is not surprising to find it a marketable commodity. As a rule sons first assist and then succeed their father in his practice : it constitutes in fact the greater part of the estate he leaves behind him. But circumstances may arise which call for the transfer of the goodwill in a clan or section from one Lōrī to another. The transfer may be first mooted either by the Lōrī himself or his *bōtār*, but in either case the Lōrī has to be bought out. Thus the Lōrī chief used to be the Lōrī of the Kambarānī under their headman Shēr Muhammad. Finding that his occupation interfered with his *sardārī* duties, he sold the goodwill of the business to one Dita, a Sōbhāzai Lōrī, for an annual payment of one *kharrār* of wheat and ten *kāsas* of pistachio *khanyak*. For nine years Dita paid up like a man, and then demurred. Matters were finally settled by Dita buying the practice outright with a lump sum of a hundred rupees and three donkeys. So the practice is now his, much to the satisfaction of all three, Dita, the Lōrī Sardār, and the *bōtār*. On the other hand the headman of the Talikzai Lāngav had some trouble with his Lōrī, a Nōtakzai, a few years back, and had to get



a Shakarzai Lōrī to buy him out of the practice for a hundred rupees. There is a third typical case of transfer. In the event of a serious illness a Lōrī will sometimes sell the goodwill of his business and distribute the proceeds in alms (*khairāt*).

41. One of their favourite games is *jīz*. There are five Games. on each side, the sides standing ten paces apart. Each lad in turn runs out and slaps one of the opposite side, who then try to catch him. They often play for five pice stakes. Another game is a kind of hide-and-seek. One of the lads has his eyes bandaged, while the rest go off and hide. Then he removes the bandage and runs off to search for them. The first he comes across is hauled out and made to squat down. The others come up and smack him on the head, and he has to pursue them until he can bowl one of them over. Other popular games are marbles (*gōrī*) and *tilla*, which consists in knocking a wooden ball out of a hollow with a stick. Girls play with dolls (*duṭṭuk*).

## V.—Home Life.

42. With the exception of a few families permanently settled in huts in Mastung and Mungachar, they live in *sigān* (Br. *gidān*), moving down country to Kachhi with the tribes to which they are attached. A *sigān* consists of a middle pole (M. *dingār*, Br. *gindār*) and side supports of wood (M. *nachurī*), with a goats' hair blanket covering the top and pieces for the sides (M. *shapdar*, Br. *pashda*). The corners are tied down by ropes (*dambī*) fastened to wooden pegs (M. *namēkh*, P. *mēkh*). The floor of the tent is the bare ground as often as not; a mat or an old bit of carpet is somewhat of a luxury. Some of the women know how to turn out the blankets and carpets, but they are usually the handiwork of the local weavers or *pēshawar*.

The wages for making a *sigān* amount to two rupees and two *kūsa* of wheat.

43. One part of the *sigān* is divided off by a mat or something of the sort for the  
The interior.

sheep, goats and donkeys. The fireplace is in the centre. Carpets, saddlebags and the like are often piled across the *sigān*, forming separate rooms for the married folk and the children to sleep in. There are seldom more than one married couple occupying the same *sigān*. A son on marriage has to set up for himself (§ 78). Well-to-do Lōrīs generally keep a small spare tent for friends and travellers, but if needs must, they give up a corner of the family *sigān* to their guests.

44. It is the women who have to pitch and strike the  
On the tramp.

*sigān*, pack the household furniture, load up the donkeys, and do the hard work of the tramp generally. Each has to carry one or more children on her back, while the husband carries the lighter and more fragile articles. But if the donkeys are fully loaded, he too will have to give one of the little ones a lift.

45. There is little or no difference between the dress of a Lōrī and the dress of a tribesman.  
Clothing.

Girls and boys wear a long shift (M. *repāwan*), the boys with a cap (M. *lupa*) and the girls with a headcloth (M. *nugad*). Men wear a shirt, trousers (M. *lashwār*, P. *shalwār*) and a turban (M. *namrī*). Women wear a *repāwan* or shift reaching down to the ankles and usually made of red cloth. The headcloth is ordinarily white. Unmarried, married and widowed all dress alike, except that widows are the only ones who ever dress in black.

46. Men wear their hair long like the tribesmen. Mullas  
Hair.

shave their head bare, and as the Sardār professes to be a mulla,

this is the style he adopts. Women plait their hair in ringlets down the back, but you can always tell a married woman from a maiden or a widow by her side-locks (*sulf*).

47. Women who can afford it wear ornaments in their hair

Ornaments. (M. *namarghū*), on their forehead  
(*dharī*), in their ears (*dur*), in

their nose (M. *lapūli*, Br. *pūli*), round their neck (M. *nataukē*, P. *taug*), and on their arms (M. *talmal*). The *talmal* consists of seven black beads and seven beads of silver. The only ornaments the men wear are rings (M. *nachalar*, Br. *chalar*) and ear-rings (M. *rudar*, P. *dur*), both of silver.

48. The staple food is unleavened bread made of *juārī*

Food. or wheaten flour. With it they  
sometimes eat *ḡal* or pottage

made of millet, while milk or butter-milk (M. *trūsh pāgh*) are taken with the meal when it can be had. A relish is made of *garbust* (Pashtō, *bushkē*; Bot. *Lepidium draba*) which is commonly eaten in the spring. In times of scarcity this and the grain of the *gam* grass made into bread or *ḡal* form their main diet.

49. There are two meals in the day, morning and even-

Meals. ing. When the bread is ready,  
it is divided up into portions.

Full portions are given to the men and women and the two watch-dogs (§ 52), but the children and the old folk are given smaller helpings. A guest usually takes pot-luck with the family, though the well-to-do will give him meat and rice to shew him special honour.

50. Butter (M. *spēti-lēt* = *safed tel* ?) is made by shaking

Butter and cheese. the curds (M. *sōbta*) in a skin  
(*his*). Cheese (M. *rōpēn*, P.

*panēr*) is made by dipping in the milk a bit of wool covered with a few grains of *panūr-band* (*Withania coagulans*) or *sēl* for a few minutes. The latter is made out of the dried paunch of a fatted kid ten to fifteen days old.

51. *Mās* (Br.) is made out of boiled milk by adding buttermilk or well-pounded dried curds (M. *rakūt*, Br. *krūt*) or a bag containing a pounded mixture of a couple of ounces each of cocoanut, lucerne seed, cummin seed, rice, *kishmish*, and turmeric.

52. They keep donkeys (M. *kōpar*), sheep (M. *shēm*, Bal. *mēsh*) and goats (M. *sub*, Bal. *bus*). Some of the donkeys are sturdy specimens capable of doing their forty miles a day. A few stallions are kept, a rupee being charged for a couple of coverings. The sheep and goats are few in number; they are tended by the children, the milking and churning being done by the women. Each family keeps a couple of watch-dogs. Fowls are reared for sale.

53. There are three diseases in particular the donkey suffers from : (1) *ginth*—symptoms : constipation and stricture ; cure :  $\frac{1}{2}$  seer of the *shōd* plant boiled with  $\frac{1}{8}$  seer of *ghī* in  $\frac{3}{4}$  seer of water, and taken internally ; (2) *pēt-dard* or colic—cure : (a) branding the navel with a red-hot iron, (b)  $\frac{1}{8}$  seer of *sand makī* is boiled with  $\frac{1}{8}$  seer of roses and  $\frac{1}{16}$  of *ghī* in  $\frac{1}{2}$  seer of water, and taken internally ; (3) *sugin*—symptoms : flow of mucus from the nose ; cure : make the donkey inhale the smoke of a burning rag of blue cloth covered with a little sugar three days running.

## VI.—Domestic Ceremonies.

54. At the close of the seventh month of pregnancy a pottage (M. *hafta nikōhal*, Br. *haftāna kōhal*) is made of boiled wheat and *gur* and sent round among the relatives and friends. Each family gives in return a couple of annas and a knucklebone (M. *mujal*) for the expected one to play with. Of the money thus subscribed half goes to the midwife, and half is spent on sweetmeats to be distributed among the poor.

55. At the birth of a male child friends and relatives flock in to offer their congratulations, bringing pice and sweetmeats with them. The pice are thrown over the child's head, and become the midwife's perquisite. The ceremony is known as *sargasht* or 'head-passing.' The guests are treated to a feast of dates. Near relatives put up in the house for six days, playing the *rubāb* and singing and generally enjoying themselves. On the seventh day a sheep or a goat is killed, and the guests have a final feast before they depart. The midwife, herself a Lōrī, who has been given her board and lodging up to now, also takes her leave. Her fees are one rupee, five seers of grain, a seer of flour, a lump of *ghī* for a boy, together with the *sargasht* offerings, but only two or four annas if it's a girl.

56. They marry within the tribe. According to the Sardār they would neither give a daughter to a Jatt nor take a Jatt to a wife ; nor would a Lōrī intermarry with the *Dānds*, Lōrīs though they are. Marriage among near relatives is popular, as a means of binding the families together, while marriages by exchange of girls (M. *lubāit*, Br. *charh pā charh*) are also common. Girls don't marry until they are over fourteen, which is just as well, seeing that the whole burden of the household falls on the wife from the outset. Boys are at least a couple of years older before they marry.

57. A betrothal (*sang*) may be arranged at any age, indeed among near relations it is sometimes fixed up between infants of six months. But as a betrothal lands the groom's family in recurring expenditure on *pāshāk* or dress (§ 59) up to the time of marriage, it is generally put off as long as possible, except in the case of marriage by exchange, in which the expenditure on either side more or less balances itself.

58. As soon as the girl's father has signified his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father kills a sheep and

Birth of a male.

Of marriage in general.

Betrothal.

The ceremony.

bakes bread in the girl's house, and feasts the girl's father and his friends. A sheep and ten *kāsas* of flour is the average consumption at the ordinary betrothal feast.

59. After the feast the boy's father presents the maiden with an outfit of raiment or *pōshāk*,  
 The betrothal *pōshāk*. to wit a pair of shoes, coloured trousers, a red shift, a headcloth, and a pair of red stone bangles (*dastūnk*). The presentation is the binding portion of the betrothal ceremony. Every six months it has to be renewed until the bride is brought to her new home; but the *pōshāk* on the subsequent occasions is less elaborate, and consists simply of a shift and a headcloth. The bride-price (M. *nilab*, Br. *lab*), which amounts to forty rupees on an average, is generally settled at the marriage.

60. Only death can cancel a betrothal; it is of no moment should one or other become  
 Death of a betrothed boy. maimed, halt or blind. So binding is the betrothal, that in the event of the boy dying before marriage, the disposal of the girl rests with the boy's father. It is he who fixes her bride-price, and if he actually paid bride-price on behalf of his son, he comes in for the whole of the bride-price now. Even if he paid nothing at all, he gets half, the other half going to the girl's father.

61. If a man is hard put to it to raise the bride-price and other marriage expenses, he  
*Nibijār*. goes among Lōris of all sorts and conditions and asks for a subscription (M. *nibijār*, Br. *bijār*). He also solicits his *bōtār* and any other tribesmen with whom he has intimate connections. This practice is not confined to marriage, but is resorted to whenever a man has to find a lump sum.

62. When the date of the wedding has been fixed, the groom's father sends a couple of  
 The wedding procession. sheep, ten *kāsas* of flour, and one *kāsa* of *ghī* to the girl's house, or possibly more or less according to his means. On the wedding morning he

collects his relatives and friends, and prepares *shurdī*, a bread made with thin paste. The *shurdī* is placed on a platter with *ghī* and *gur* over it, and with this platter the marriage party (M. *najāno*)—men, women and children—proceed in the evening to the bride's house. Here the bride's relatives and friends are waiting to receive them.

63. A bonfire is kindled, and on it they throw a piece of

the *shurdī* before distributing  
Worship of the fire. the rest among the company.

Then they address the fire and pray : 'Oh fire, thou that art the giver of our livelihood, favour the bridegroom with thy blessing. Grant him children and prosperity in his business.' Then the drums beat and there's dancing (M. *chāpōsh*, Br. *chāp*). Men and women whirl round the fire in separate circles, and sing songs in turns. Here's their favourite song :—

*Mirae mai shādī lai-lārō lārō*

*Takhtas sara nindainānī lai-lārō lārō*

*Mūdāne sarand khanatith lai-lārō lārō*

*Mirā baranī Lailat rāha nindārenant lai-lārō lārō*

*Shādī mubārak bith rōch nasib bant lai-lārō lārō.*

Our prince holds his wedding,

Lilli bulero.

On the throne they are sitting,

Lilli bulero.

Comb ye his hair,

Lilli bulero.

Let them take him and seat him right close to his lady,

Lilli bulero.

Blessed be the wedlock ! their luck great as may be,

Lilli bulero.

64. The bride's father cooks the food, and serves it to

the guests. And after the feast,

The marriage.

the mulla reads the *nikāh* or

ordinary marriage service, and gets a fee of one rupee for the work. During the *nikāh* the couple sit on a rug which

the groom brought with him, both decked out in their best. The groom wears a new white turban, trousers of *alacha* cloth, and a shirt of *dumēti*, while the bride wears her bridal apparel, donning trousers for the occasion.

65. When the service is over, the couple go off to a blanket tent (M. *sigān*, Br. *gidān*) which has been pitched some way off from the encampment. This is the gift of the bride's parents, and with it they provide a saddle-bag (M. *rōjin*, Br. *khurjīn*), a coloured woollen bread-bag (M. *shpēng*, Br. *bishēnk*), a woollen salt-bag (M. *ribdān*, Br. *bādān*), a *chōfi* or instrument for plaiting the hair, a head-dress (M. *pōlū*), and a *lungi* for the groom. Twenty rupees is what a marriage costs the bride's family on an average; the bridegroom's people have to pay about three times as much, not counting the bride-price.

66. On the morrow the husband takes the cloth stained with the tokens of virginity and displays it in front of the *sigān* in honour of his unspotted bride, and when his friends go to offer their congratulations, the cloth is the first thing to strike their eye and forms the general subject of admiration.

67. For two days they are left alone in the *sigān*, undisturbed save for visits of congratulation by the groom's friends. The home-coming. The relatives of the bride don't go near them; their food and other necessities are brought them by the mother and sisters of the groom. On the morning of the third day the bride's parents pay her a farewell visit, and then the bridegroom's people come and strike the *sigān*, and carry the bride, *sigān* and all, off to their encampment. Thereafter, even though the young husband does not elect to take his share of the patrimony and set up for himself, he must leave the parental *sigān* and live in his own *sigān* apart with his bride.



68. Now when cooked food is given in alms, three-fourths of the *savāb* or heavenly recompense that attaches to such alms is on account of the food itself, and one-fourth on account of the fire at which it is cooked. The housewife, possibly in her capacity as cook, has as her portion in heaven this one-fourth, which has a money value of four gold mohurs or eighty rupees. So when a bride is brought home, she is asked by her husband whether she prefers to retain her fourth share in the *savāb*, or compound for it by taking four mohurs. The more intelligent women decline to compound. Now and then a wife will demand cash down, and her husband is then bound to present her with an ornament, though it need not be quite of the value stipulated. If he can't afford this, he will beg his wife to make him a gift of the four mohurs. This she generally does, but the gift must be made in the presence of four or five respectable men.

69. A woman must not appear bare-headed before any one but her husband. Nor must she appear before strangers if her shift does not cover her shins, unless she is wearing trousers.

70. Most Lōrīs content themselves with one wife, for the excellent reason that they cannot afford more. But the well-to-do often have three or four. The Sardār has three like his father before him.

71. Faithlessness, a shrewish temper, bad house-keeping, these are the most common grounds of divorce. The husband thrice pronounces the word '*talāq*' or divorce in the presence of a mulla or *mōibār*, saying 'Henceforth thou art to me like a mother or sister, thou canst go,' and the divorce is complete. A wife may appeal to the Sardār for a divorce if her husband should prove impotent, even should his im-

potency have come on him after marriage and after she has borne him children.

72. The remarriage of widows is common practice. The

Remarriage of widows. *sāng* and *nikāh* take place at one and the same time. It is an

inexpensive ceremony, ten rupees being all it usually costs. She gets a long red shift from her groom. Though she's free to select her second husband, the bride-price is arranged by the widow's father, but if—as is usually the case—the bride-price was paid up in the first instance or a girl was given in exchange, the heirs of the deceased husband are entitled to the full amount.

73. A divorcé is not so well off. She has no say in the

Remarriage of divorced wives. choice of her second husband. Her father arranges the match and pockets the bride-price.

74. They bury their dead in the tribal graveyard (M.

Burial. *rābistān*, P. *qabristān*). After the burial they distribute cooked food

in alms, the quantity and quality being a question of means. If a man dies on the march, his relatives carry his body (M. *rumdā*, P. *murda*) to the tribal graveyard if they can arrange to do so. If they can't manage the removal then and there, they dig a grave (M. *rakab*, P. *qabr*) on the spot, and deposit the body in trust (M. *sabānat*, P. *amānat*) in its temporary resting-place. On their return tramp towards home, if it occurs within six months, they exhume the body and carry it with them for burial in the tribal graveyard. The burial service is read by a mulla if one is to hand, and in his absence by the holiest man available. Poor folk often bury their dead wherever he may happen to die, and even in the clothes he died in. The only attempt at ceremony is for one of their number to return to the spot a day or two later, and to say over the grave: 'Oh earth! I now entrust this body to thee.'

75. There is no mourning (M. *nîkōnt*) for children under

Mourning. seven. For all others the women observe mourning for seven days

and the men for three. On the first day some near relative sends one meal for the bereaved family, for no food may be cooked in the house of mourning on that day. Neighbours pay visits of condolence during the three first days; those living at a distance come in when they can. On such visits of condolence each comes with some gift (*purs*), cash, grain or sheep—anything in fact save cloth and clothing. The guests are fed by the family in mourning, who spend about twenty-five rupees over the death.

### VIII.—Customary Law.

76. Adultery and similar offences are fairly common. The

Adultery and compensation. accuser must satisfy the Sardār and his council of *şakris* that the

woman was seen with her paramour in a secluded spot. The paramour used to be killed, but nowadays he gets off by paying the husband Rs. 400 as damages. The woman is divorced and returns to her father, who may marry her to any Lör other than her paramour for the usual bride-price. But as the bride-price is only forty rupees, the father generally exercises his right to provide the injured husband with a fresh bride, in which case he becomes entitled to half the compensation. If the husband still owes the father the bride-price, or a girl in exchange, the compensation is divided, the father receiving  $\frac{2}{3}$  and the husband  $\frac{1}{3}$ : in such a case the full bride-price got for the divorcé is divided between them in the same proportions. Adultery is thus a source of income to husband and father alike. In unproven cases the woman and her paramour are given the benefit of the doubt if they take an oath by the Sardār's beard. Yet even so the husband may take an oath that he believes his wife to be an adulteress, and will thereupon divorce her, receiving back the *şab* from her father, or possibly another girl in exchange.

77. Despite their low social position the bloodmoney for one of their number was fixed by Nasir Khān the Great at double and more than double the usual amount, on account, it would seem, both of their helplessness and of the great value of their services to the tribe. It must be remembered also that the Lōrīs are the tribal bards. In the old days much store was set by their ballads as a means of arousing the martial spirit. As words were not minced in the ballads, the bard's life would have been a short one, had it not been made artificially sacrosanct by means of a thumping bloodmoney. The following are the current rates when the injury is caused to a Lōrī by a Brāhmi tribesman :—

	Rs.
Murder of a man ... ..	4,000
Murder of a woman ... ..	2,000
An eye ... ..	2,000
A tooth or teeth ... ..	2,000
A hand ... ..	2,000
A foot ... ..	2,000
A nose ... ..	500
An ear ... ..	500
A finger... ..	500
A toe ... ..	200

The loss of both eyes or both hands or both feet is accounted equal to a murder, the compensation being the same, Rs. 4,000. The compensation for injury done to one of the chiefly section of the Shāhizai is in all cases one-fourth higher. Compensation is rarely paid entirely in cash. Thus there was a fight some twenty years back between some Sarawān Lōrīs and some Nōtakzai, in which the former lost four men, and the latter two. Two deaths were set off against two, and the Nōtakzai had to give compensation for the odd two. They paid the amount, Rs. 8,000, half in cash, and the rest by handing over two girls with guns, *sigāns*, horses, donkeys, sheep and goats.

to make up the balance. Among the Lōrīs themselves the rates are the same as among the Brāhṇīs.

78. The normal family is a joint family consisting of father and sons. When a son

The joint family.

marries he usually separates off and sets up house and home for himself. Any son indeed may claim partition as a matter of right.

79. On partition each member of the joint family,

Partition.

whether father or son, receives an equal share of the property.

Property acquired by one of the sons goes to swell the family estate, and is included in the partition, unless the father has expressly provided for the contrary in writing. A partition once made cannot be revoked. If a son is born after the partition, he acquires automatically rights in his father's share ; he has no rights in the shares of his brothers who have separated off. If any sons elect to live with the father after a partition, they inherit to the exclusion of other sons who separated off.

80. Females are not recognised as having any status in

Females.

the joint family, and accordingly do not participate in a partition, except of course as part of the property subject to partition. Similarly they are excluded from the inheritance, except in one special case [ § 82, V (1) ], and under will ( § 83 ). This exclusion applies not only to widows, daughters and sisters, but also to the issue of daughters and sisters.

81. The following principles underlie the rules of inheritance :—

Principles of inheritance.

(1) Only male agnates inherit [with one exception, § 82, V (1) ].

(2) The order in which they inherit is (a) sons (including deceased sons' sons), (b) father, (c) brothers (including deceased brothers' sons and

- (d) father's brothers (including father's deceased brothers' sons). Each degree excludes the others below it in the order of precedence.
- (3) In each degree heirs of equal standing inherit equally, in other words the property goes *per capita*.
- (4) But if all the heirs in the same degree are not of equal standing—*e. g.*, if there are sons and also deceased sons' sons, or if there are brothers and also deceased brothers' sons—the property goes not *per capita* but *per stirpes*. In other words each group of orphans jointly enjoys the right of representing their father in the inheritance that would have been his, had he lived to enter into it. Thus if there are two sons, and also four sons of a third deceased son, the property is divided into three shares, the orphans succeeding jointly to the one-third that is their deceased father's right as one of the three sons.
- (5) In the absence of heirs the property falls to the Sardār.

82. So if a man dies intestate (§ 83 ), his property descends as follows :—  
Rules of inheritance.

- I. (1) Son—the whole.
- (2) Sons—*per capita*.
- (3) Sons and deceased sons' sons—*per stirpes*.
- (4) Deceased sons' sons—*per capita*.

*Note.*—Of course if there has been a partition only sons who remained associated with the father inherit (§ 79).

II. In the absence of I. :—

- (1) Father—the whole.

III. In the absence of I. and II. :—

- (1) Brother—the whole.
- (2) Brothers—*per capita*.

(3) Brothers and deceased brothers' sons—*per stirpes*.

(4) Deceased brothers' sons—*per capita*.

IV. In the absence of I., II. and III. :—

(1) Father's brother—the whole.

(2) Father's brothers—*per capita*.

(3) Father's brothers and father's deceased brothers' sons—*per stirpes*.

(4) Father's deceased brothers' sons—*per capita*.

V. In the absence of I., II., III. and IV. :—

Married daughter who with her husband has lived with the deceased until his death— $\frac{2}{3}$ , the remaining  $\frac{1}{3}$  going to the Sardār.

VI. In the absence of I., II., III., IV. and V. :—

The Sardār—the whole.

83. Wills are valid but not particularly common. They

Wills.

may be either written or oral.

They seem to be chiefly resorted

to for the purpose of including females in the inheritance from which they are ordinarily excluded. Thus, to take a concrete instance, the maternal uncle of the present Sardār, who left a childless widow and a second widow with two sons and a daughter, made an oral will shortly before his death, dividing the property into three shares, one for each child, stipulating that the sons should provide maintenance for the childless widow from their shares.

84. A man has absolute power over his own property.

Gifts.

During his life-time or on his death-bed he can make a gift

even of his land and water to any one he pleases—to an heir, a relative, a tribesman or a stranger.

85. A woman can hold property in her own right either as heir [§ 82, V (1)], or legatee ( § 83 ) or the recipient of a gift ( § 84). She has absolute control over it, being competent to sell, mortgage, or alienate it by gift or will or in any manner she likes.

86. But unless she makes a will to the contrary, a woman's property on her decease devolves not on her husband but on her male issue and failing male issue on her father or other male kin. The rules of inheritance are in fact the same as those in the case of property held by males.

87. Females are entitled to maintenance from the heirs until marriage or remarriage; even unchastity does not appear to extinguish their rights. When in the absence of heirs among the kin the property devolves on the chief, it is he who has to provide the maintenance for the females of the deceased and who arranges for their marriage and receives the bride-price.

88. The maintenance of children falls ordinarily on the heirs. But when a widow remarries having children by her first husband (M. *sēbāda*, Bal. *peshāda*), they are entitled to receive maintenance from their step-father up to the age of seven in the case of males and of fourteen in the case of females, and then return to their deceased father's heirs. A widow, it may be remarked, cannot remarry within a couple of months of her confinement.

89. The guardianship of a minor and the administration of his property until he reaches the age of nine devolve on one of his father's kin selected for the purpose by the Sardār. The guardian is entitled to manage an office, such as that of a *ṣakrī*, on the minor's behalf, and may mortgage the minor's land to provide for maintenance, but may not



sell it. He also acts as guardian of daughters during the minority, but their *lab* goes of course to the estate. The guardianship of a widow, when the heirs are minors, devolves on the man who acted as *wakil* at the marriage.

90. Though Lōris have only recently acquired lands and water by purchase, chiefly in  
Pre-emption. Mastung, Mungachar, Zard and

Kalāt, the right of pre-emption has already taken root. It applies however to actual sales of land only. It does not apply to mortgages or to water. The right must be exercised within twelve months. Disputes are referred to the Sardār, who appoints arbitrators if the allegation is made that the sale-price was not fixed in good faith.

### IX—Weights and Measures, etc.

91. A wife is valued at forty rupees, just about the value of a cow. A bullock is worth  
Values and currency. double. A donkey is worth from

fifteen to sixty rupees, a sheep five or six, a goat four, a sword three, a gun twenty. The coins are the ordinary Indian currency: M. *saipā* (*paissā*), pice, M. *lim āshī* (*nēm shāhī*) anna, Māshī (*shāhī*), two annas, M. *lāplī* (*paalī*), four annas, M. *lim-gōm* eight annas, M. *gōm*, rupee.

92. Though cash payments are now common, barter is still in vogue in the case of certain  
Barter, articles, especially vegetables and fruits: thus, ten *kāsas* of wheat are given for one *kāsa* of *ghī*, two *kāsas* of wheat for one *kāsa* of salt, one *kāsa* of wheat for a *kāsa* of tobacco or a couple *kāsas* of mulberries, nine seers of wheat for a seer of oil, a seer of wheat for a seer of apricots, or a quarter of a seer of grapes or four cucumbers or a couple of seers of melons.

93. The year is divided into nine parts of forty days each:  
Seasons, etc. *Chahila-i-sabz* (lit. forty of green, i.e., early spring), *Chahila-i-*

*sard*, *Ahār*, *Sānwan*, *Bādra*, *Sohēl*, *Chahila-i-khushk*, *Chahila-i-tar*, *Chahila-i-siāh*.—Day and night is divided into eight *pās* : *subōk*, *rōsōsk*, *nashirgarm*, *tim rōsh*, *shēpī* (= *pēshī*), *rīgar* (= *dīgar*), *khuftano* (= *khuftan*) and *nēmshpo* (= *nēm shaf*). The measure of length is *gām*, a full pace. 500 square *gāms* is about as much as a pair of bullocks can cultivate.

## APPENDIX.

Rough analysis of the Lōris by sections and sub-sections :—

Abōzai.	Chuṭṭāzai.	Īatōzai.
Āhmadzai.	Dhēṛzai.	Faujānzai.
Allahdādzai.	Īāhizai.	<i>Nekisai.</i>
Allahyārzai.	<i>Ḍōjib.</i>	Fōlādzai.
Ali Daulatzai.	<i>Khabbarsai.</i>	<i>Gamānizai.</i>
Alizai.	<i>Tallōzai.</i>	<i>Garan.</i>
Angūrzai.	Darbēzai.	Gadābzai.
Argizai.	Darmānzai.	<i>Dagāzai.</i>
Āsfōzai.	<i>Bārānzai.</i>	<i>Lashkarisai.</i>
<i>Sōpakzai.</i>	<i>Ibrāhīmsai.</i>	Gadōrzai.
Bāchizai.	Darwēshzai.	<i>Sargangzai.</i>
Bādālzai.	Dāndzai.	Gamānizai.
Badōzai.	Dhināni.	Gandōzai.
Bāgizai.	<i>Samīāni.</i>	<i>Allah Bakhszai.</i>
<i>Shērasai.</i>	Dildārzai.	Gazinzai.
Bhāgāni.	Dilwashzai.	<i>Khaltisai.</i>
<i>Gōrgisai.</i>	Ḍōmb.	Ghadanzai.
Bahārīzai.	<i>Āchārāni.</i>	<i>Ghaibizai.</i>
Bakhrāni.	<i>Chāngāni.</i>	<i>Umarzai.</i>
Bangizai.	<i>Jansalzai.</i>	Ghamālzai.
Bashīrzai.	<i>Khidrāni.</i>	Ghamguzārzai.
Bashōzai.	<i>Sargangzai.</i>	Ghanīzai.
Baṭōzai.	<i>Sehwārsai.</i>	Ghulām Hasanazai.
Bōtāzai.	<i>Washdāni.</i>	Gōhrāmzai.
Brāhimzai.	<i>Zangishāhī.</i>	Gōzashzai.
<i>Nōtāni.</i>	Durrāzai.	<i>Dahōzai.</i>
Chandanzai.	Fakirdādzai.	GulMuhammadzai.

Guzaralizai.	<u>K</u> hulkôzai.	<i>Lôra.</i>
Gwahrizai.	Khandôzai.	<i>Malârânî.</i>
<i>Jamûlzai.</i>	<u>K</u> harbô.	<i>Mamman Pôtra.</i>
Haibatzaï.	<i>Nûûzai.</i>	<i>Mamnûnî.</i>
Hakimzai.	<u>K</u> harêni.	<i>Mangaur Hâr.</i>
<i>Mushghûlzai.</i>	<i>Jahfôzai.</i>	<i>Magsûdzai.</i>
Halîkzai.	<u>K</u> hidrânî.	<i>Mashkôzai.</i>
Halkôzai.	<u>K</u> hônga.	<i>Mirak Pôtra.</i>
Harkizai.	<u>K</u> hudâdâdzai.	<i>Muhammadânî.</i>
Hasni.	<i>Pahlwânzai.</i>	<i>Obûânî.</i>
Jalûlzai.	Kôhîzai.	<i>Pannânî.</i>
Jamôzai.	Kökânî.	<i>Rôtrânî.</i>
Jangî.	Kungarzaï.	<i>Safrânî.</i>
Jangôzai.	Laghôlôzai.	<i>Sahpânî.</i>
Järzai.	Lunga.	<i>Sajuânî.</i>
Jaurakzai.	<i>Afghânzai.</i>	<i>Sakhrânî.</i>
<i>Rahmîzai.</i>	<i>Âlwânî.</i>	<i>Sâmânî.</i>
Jazanzai.	<i>Âmânî.</i>	<i>Sangrînnî.</i>
Jiandzai.	<i>Aswânî.</i>	<i>Sârangzai.</i>
Jôgîzai.	<i>Bangrânî.</i>	<i>Sarman Pôtra.</i>
Julâbzai.	<i>Barûdânî.</i>	<i>Shadyânî.</i>
Kabûlzai.	<i>Barâfîzai.</i>	<i>Shâhbêgânî.</i>
Kâdir Razai.	<i>Bullulzai.</i>	<i>Siâhôsai.</i>
Kalandarzaï.	<i>Chamrânî.</i>	<i>Sumârsai.</i>
Kalâtizai.	<i>Châwan Kîanî.</i>	<i>Wasânî.</i>
Kalêrzai.	<i>Dêthîânî.</i>	<i>Washlânî.</i>
Kamarzaï.	<i>Fakîr.</i>	<i>Lâshîzai.</i>
Kârim Bêgzai.	<i>Hâjî Juma Pôtra.</i>	<i>Lôhâr.</i>
Karîmdâdzai.	<i>Hajyânî.</i>	<i>Lôra.</i>
Karkhîzai.	<i>Hasan Pôtra.</i>	<i>Basrânî.</i>
<i>Gul Bêgzai</i>	<i>Jamrânî.</i>	<i>Bâtîrânî.</i>
<i>Hairatzai.</i>	<i>Kapârânî.</i>	<i>Bôlânî.</i>
Kathôzai.	<i>Kapârôsai.</i>	<i>Chalânî.</i>
<u>K</u> hairôzai.	<i>Karzaï.</i>	<i>Darkânî.</i>
<i>Murâdzai.</i>	<i>Kharyânî.</i>	<i>Fakîrsaz.</i>
<i>Umarsai.</i>	<i>Lâdnânî.</i>	<i>Gharbânî.</i>
<u>K</u> hâkizai.	<i>Latrânî.</i>	<i>Kakwânî.</i>

<i>Karsai.</i>	<i>Möryázai.</i>	<i>Rakhmānsai</i>
<i>Khair Muhammad-</i>	<i>Rahmānsai.</i>	<i>Pöndözai.</i>
<i>āni.</i>	<i>Möngzai.</i>	<i>Purkızai.</i>
<i>Kudōsai.</i>	<i>Muhammadzai.</i>	<i>Push.</i>
<i>Lāsī.</i>	<i>Multānzai.</i>	<i>Niāsai.</i>
<i>Makhanā.</i>	<i>Basharsai.</i>	<i>Sulēmān Khəl.</i>
<i>Makōrānī.</i>	<i>Mungchari.</i>	<i>Ragitgai.</i>
<i>Makrānī.</i>	<i>Khudādādsai.</i>	<i>Kalandarsai.</i>
<i>Masārsai.</i>	<i>Murādzai.</i>	<i>Murādsai.</i>
<i>Nadarmānī.</i>	<i>Musāzai.</i>	<i>Shāhdōstsai.</i>
<i>Nasōzai.</i>	<i>Pahlwānsai.</i>	<i>Rahimdādzai.</i>
<i>Sakērānī.</i>	<i>Mutrib.</i>	<i>Rahizai.</i>
<i>Sarmatsai.</i>	<i>Bahārānī.</i>	<i>Gamshēlsai.</i>
<i>Shahmālsai.</i>	<i>Hadnārī.</i>	<i>Rahmatzai.</i>
<i>Yūsufānī.</i>	<i>Gulsai.</i>	<i>Raisānī.</i>
<i>Zangiānī</i>	<i>Pangrānī.</i>	<i>Rōchsānī.</i>
<i>Zangōzai.</i>	<i>Tālbānī.</i>	<i>Jaldbānī.</i>
<i>Lōrmazai.</i>	<i>Nāgōzai.</i>	<i>Rōjānī.</i>
<i>Ladōsai.</i>	<i>Nandānī.</i>	<i>Rōzizai.</i>
<i>Magandōi.</i>	<i>Nūraksai.</i>	<i>Sabzal Alizai.</i>
<i>Malkhīzai.</i>	<i>Naukarzai.</i>	<i>Sahōzai.</i>
<i>Mandōzai.</i>	<i>Nidāzai.</i>	<i>Samandarzai.</i>
<i>Tāgsai.</i>	<i>Nōtakzai.</i>	<i>Sambrāzai.</i>
<i>Mānūzai.</i>	<i>Gōhrāmsai.</i>	<i>Sanōzai.</i>
<i>Marōr.</i>	<i>Hōrānsai.</i>	<i>Gōjisai.</i>
<i>Mashghalzai.</i>	<i>Jalamzai.</i>	<i>Sanōzai.</i>
<i>Tōlōsai.</i>	<i>Mehrānsai.</i>	<i>Sapalzai.</i>
<i>Mastōzai.</i>	<i>Rōshānsai.</i>	<i>Sarbazai.</i>
<i>Tahlānsai.</i>	<i>Shanbasai.</i>	<i>Sōpaksai.</i>
<i>Mēngāl.</i>	<i>Nūrōzai.</i>	<i>Sarmastānī.</i>
<i>Miānzai.</i>	<i>Pakhīdzai.</i>	<i>Ahmadsai.</i>
<i>Mirāsī.</i>	<i>Patōzai.</i>	<i>Allahdādsai.</i>
<i>Āchrānī.</i>	<i>Shāhōzai.</i>	<i>Darwēshsai.</i>
<i>Gōmalzai.</i>	<i>Pirānazai.</i>	<i>Husainsai.</i>
<i>Sakhīsai.</i>	<i>Pirizai.</i>	<i>Khākisai.</i>
<i>Sursai</i>	<i>Kānī.</i>	<i>Masārsai</i>
<i>Miozai</i>	<i>Pōlādzai.</i>	<i>Mehrūsai.</i>

<i>Mirānsai.</i>	Sharifzai.	Tangizai.
<i>Musāfarsai.</i>	Sitamzai.	<i>Dād Khudāsai.</i>
<i>Nākāmsai.</i>	Snētzai.	<i>Kādir Bakhsai.</i>
<i>Nichōsai.</i>	Söbhāzai.	<i>Yākūbsai.</i>
<i>Pirīsai.</i>	<i>Shanōzai.</i>	Tarangizai.
Sarpukzai.	<i>Yār Muhammad-</i>	Tatrānī.
<i>Smāilsai.</i>	<i>zai.</i>	<i>Badkanīsai.</i>
Sarwashzai.	Söhābzai.	<i>Gashō Kharnī.</i>
Satarzai.	<i>Pāindsai.</i>	Zangi.
Shādizai.	Sōjazai.	<i>Shahr Rind.</i>
Shāhizai.	Sōnāzai.	Zangī Shahr
<i>Panrōhsai.</i>	Tālbur.	<i>Sarwashsai.</i>
Shakarzai.	Tallizai.	Zangōzai.
Shākizai.	<i>Nūrōsai.</i>	<i>Mirahsai.</i>
Shambōzai.		Zanhazai.
<i>Mandōsai.</i>		

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## THE JAT.

(Chiefly from material collected by R. B. Diwān Jamiat Rūi, C.I.E., M. Aṣīs-ud-dīn, Tahsildār of Nasirābād, and L. Mōlī Rām, Tahsildār of Sibī.)

1. 5,680 Jats were enumerated at the census of 1911, of whom 2,941 were found in Kalāt, 2,735 in Sibī, with 4 in Las Bēla.

Numbers.

The following notes apply more especially to the Sibī Jats, from whom most of the material was obtained.

2. At the 1901 census the Jats were classified as a clan of the Jaṭṭ race, probably on the ground that their language is

Origin.

Jaṭkī; but though this net is possibly wide enough to hold them, the two names Jat and Jaṭṭ must be very carefully distinguished. The Jat usually pose as Balōch, much to the disgust of the Balōch himself. They hark back in approved fashion to Chākar Khān, the great Rind, and attribute their drop in the social scale either to their refusal to support him in his struggle with the Lāshārī, or to their ancestral profession as camel-drivers, from which they are supposed to derive their name. According to Balōch tradition, so far from having dropped in the social scale, they have gone up a step or two, degraded though their condition is. For in the old days they were little better than savages living unwashed, unshaven, unclothed, partly on their camels and partly on their women—their two sources of livelihood to this day. As for their absurd claims to kinship, the Balōch say that Mīr Chākar himself had to warn them of the inevitable consequences of such impertinence, and Heaven proved him in the right by wiping out ten thousand of them in next day's battle. But though it seems clear that their claims to blood relationship are really preposterous, it is equally clear that their connexion with the Balōch is of long standing. In the old ballads they are styled Rauchi or Rāychī.

3. They can hardly be said to have any organisation at all. The bonds between their

Lack of organisation.

various sections, of which thirty-

one (enumerated in the appendix) were recorded at the census, are of the frailest, and in the individual section it is a case of *kiṛi kiṛi sardārēn*, or one tent—one chieftain, as the proverb says. Latterly they have begun to awake to the idea that union is not without strength, and are beginning to follow, though very gingerly, the lead of their *mōtabars*, notably of Shēr *Khān* among the Barhānis and of Gulzār in the Bugṭi country. But if each man is a chieftain in his own tent, they are a cringing lot to the outside world, submitting with whispering humbleness to any indignity put upon them. Even among themselves a flood of abuse or a cuff with the hand or a blow with a shoe is the utmost limit of their valour.

4. Winter and summer they are on the move in search of grazing for their camels,

Nomadic life.

carrying with them a mat-tent,

a hand-mill, some pots and pans and a few sticks of furniture. Being notorious evil-livers and expert camel-lifters, they are not allowed to camp close to a village unless they have taken service with some big man.

5. They are camel-breeders, camel-graziers and carriers.

Occupation of the men.

The camel indeed is their main staff of life. It supplies them

with milk and with hair for making sacking and blankets, while the hair of the tail is twisted into ropes. When the camel trade is slack, they go out as day-labourers in the bazars, or cut crops for the *samindārs*, or hawk about their home-made mats of dwarf-palm leaves. The large stave (*laṭh*) they carry has come to be regarded as the badge of their race.

6. The women have to do most of the household work ;

Occupation of the women.

they make and wash the clothes, bring in water and fuel, milk the



camels, cook the food on a pan (*tawā*) over three stones, and pitch and strike the tents, while much of their spare time is spent in making dwarf-palm mats, which find a ready sale among the tribesmen.

7. Not that a woman's life is one long round of toil and moil. On the march she

Recognised prostitution.

takes her ease on a camel, while her lord trudges along on foot. The wife of one of the well-to-do is loaded with jewels from top to toe : rings (*būla*), pins, pendants (*bulāq*), all of gold in her nose, golden rings and pendants in her ears, shells in her hair, a silver necklace round her neck, silver bangles on her arms and legs. This expensive enhancement of her charms, which is made complete among several sections by a tattoo mark between the eyebrows, is not intended for the selfish gratification of her husband : it is an outlay of capital which is expected to bring in a goodly return. It's a common saying that a tribesman who puts a camel out to graze with a Jat, becomes thereby the *bhotār* or master of the Jat's wife. He comes along every now and then to have a look at his camel and more than a look at the lady of the house. As he comes in, the Jat goes out. On entering, the *bhotār* leaves his shoes or stick outside the tent. If the Jat on his return finds the shoes or stick still outside, he shuffles with his feet or gives a discreet cough. If this hint is insufficient, he shouts out : 'Master ! the horse has got loose !' or 'Master ! a dog has run off with your shoes !' a hint too broad to be mistaken. Should a visitor come along when the Jat is absent, his presence in the tent will be advertised by his shoes outside, or by some obliging old go-between who greets the husband with the stock euphemism 'There's a stallion after the mare!' Though this is regarded as an ancient and honourable custom, and the husband, we are assured, takes pride in the conquests of his wife, it has of course a mercenary side to it. The *bhotār* makes presents in one form or another ; if he is a big man in the tribe, he can of course help the family in a number of ways.

8. They profess to be Sunnī Muhammadans, but their religious convictions are not very deep-rooted. They don't keep the Muharram or fast in the Ramzān. But the two Ids are celebrated with much merriment, feasting and singing; these are the only seasons of jollification in the year. They worship no saints, and would be hard put to it to explain what the term means. They call in a mulla for their domestic ceremonies, but if they cannot secure his services, they get on very well without him. Though they don't believe in Sayyids, they are not above being inoculated against smallpox by Sayyid Shāhī of Dhāḍar. If there's an actual case of smallpox in the house, some damsels and lads are fed to the full on the eighth day, and the former pour water on the patient. The womenfolk are supposed to keep up their singing till the patient recovers.

9. In the case of painful labour they dip the beard of some pious old man in water, and help on the delivery by rubbing the water on the woman's belly and making her drink some of it down.

10. Like all Muhammadans they circumcise their male children, usually between the age of three and seven. But having thus done all that religion demands of them, they carry the practice further and circumcise their females. Of the circumcision of females two accounts are given. According to the one, a girl is circumcised when she is twelve or thereabouts by an old nurse or midwife, a few female relatives being called in for the ceremony, which passes off very quietly. According to the other, a bride is circumcised within the bridal chamber on the bridal night by a midwife who performs the operation (an artificial rupture of the hymen apparently) with a razor, and puts ashes on the wound. The explanation given is that they are reduced to thus sprinkling the bridal couch with blood in order to prove

that the bride is—what in this tribe she generally is not—a virgin.

11. They are perforce endogamous, as nobody except possibly a Lōrī would dream of giving his daughter to one of them in marriage. Though boys are sometimes married when quite young, girls are not married till they reach puberty. As they themselves put it, it would be a waste of money to marry a wife who is too young for cohabitation and, what is more important, for the hard work of the household. It appears to be not unusual for an adult woman married to a minor, to cohabit with his father, though secrecy has to be observed; but general illicit intercourse is so common that it is hard to say whether this incest deserves the name of custom or not.

12. Marriages are often fixed up by an interchange of girls. An ordinary betrothal is arranged by the lad's father sending a couple of *mōtabars* or men of standing to ask for the girl's hand and negotiate about the bride-price. If the overtures are successful, the lad is taken to the girl's house in a large procession, composed of four *mōtabars* and a throng of kinswomen and other females, who carry a red silk wrapper (*sūhā*), a red shirt (*kurtā*) and a silver finger ring for the bride, as well as some sugar and henna. They come tripping along, singing and dancing, while a drummer (*lāga*) beats the drum lustily. On arrival at the house they dress the bride, distribute the sugar and apply the henna to the hands of both bride and groom. The bride-price is handed over and the betrothal is then complete, and as binding as a betrothal can be among folk of such loose morals.

13. The bride-price is sometimes given in cash, rising from an insignificant sum to one or two hundred rupees, but more usually it takes the form of one to three she-camels. If the

girl dies before marriage, the bride-price is refunded ; if the lad dies, his heirs can claim the girl, and pocket her bride-price on her marriage.

14. For seven days before the wedding the bride and groom are fed—no doubt for their better fertilisation—on flour

Marriage.

which has been ground in both houses by a woman who is the sole wife of a loving husband. On the wedding day—preferably during the Id but not a Tuesday, Wednesday or Saturday—the groom sets out with a procession of kinsfolk, the women singing and dancing to the beat of a drum. On their arrival at the bride's house a mixture of bread and sugar, called *chūrī*, is distributed among the company, who are feasted at the expense of the groom's father. A mulla reads the *nikāh* according to the ordinary Muhammadan rites for a fee of one rupee, and the bridal couple retire to a *kīzī* or mat-tent, which has been pitched for them some little distance from the encampment. Here they remain for seven days, only visited by a relative who brings them their food. On the first morning the bride's garment stained with the supposed tokens of virginity is exposed to view. If a mulla's services cannot be procured, they are simply dispensed with ; one of the grey-beards performing the ceremony by chanting any Balōchi or Jaṭkī song he happens to remember.

15. A widow returns to her parents and has perfect liberty to arrange her future life just as she pleases—whether as widow, mistress or wife. If she prefers to marry and can find the man to marry her, betrothal and marriage take place at one and the same time. The bride-price, which is only half the usual amount, goes to her parents.

Remarriage of widows.

16. The mulla only gets eight annas or half the usual marriage-fee, which seems unfair considering all the indignities he has to put up with. For at the

Buffoonery at the ceremony.

marriage of a widow the women regard the mulla as a proper butt for the broadest of jokes ; they sew up his clothes with matting, and sometimes even take off his trousers and leave him naked, befooling and abusing him mercilessly.

17. Divorce is unknown. It would indeed be a little out of place, seeing that the husband takes at least as keen and kindly

Absence of divorce.

an interest as his wife in her amours. It is hardly necessary to go as far as one of the correspondents on the subject who finds the explanation for the absence of divorce in the charitable conclusion that the happiness of his wife is the first and the last ambition of a Jat. Now and then no doubt a husband may think that matters are being carried a bit too far, especially if the paramour is a mere Jat like himself, but a small *douceur* will soon smooth down his ruffled feelings.

18. They bury their dead in the usual way with the head to the north, the feet to the south, and the face towards the

Burial.

west. If they can get hold of a mulla to read the service so much the better ; his fee is only eight annas or a rupee. The bereaved family are fed by the kin for three days, during which their ordinary occupations are suspended in token of mourning. On the fourth day a little dried *juar* (*Andropogon Sorghum*) is parched and distributed with sugar. Visits of condolence are paid by the friends, who are feasted, but contribute eight annas or so to the alms for the dead.

19. Only male agnates inherit. First the son (sons in

Inheritance.

equal shares, sons and deceased sons' sons *per stirpes*) ; then the father ; then the brother and in default of brother, the nephew ; and then the uncle, and in default of uncle, the cousin—this is the general order of precedence.

20. Widows, daughters and the male issue of daughters

Maintenance of women.

are excluded from the inheritance  
Not that the widow is part of the

inheritance as elsewhere, for her bride-price, should she choose to remarry, goes to her parents (§ 15). Like the daughter, who is, however, part of the inheritance, she is entitled to maintenance from the deceased's estate until she remarry. In chastity, needless to say, does not cancel her rights in this respect.

## APPENDIX.

Rough analysis of Jat by sections and sub-sections.

Babbar	<i>Bhirānī</i>	Kahār
<i>Admānī</i>	<i>Gulshērsai</i>	<i>Mānchānī</i>
<i>Allah Bakḥshānī</i>	<i>Jathānī</i>	<i>Shukrānī</i>
<i>Bahlakānī</i>	<i>Jiandānī</i>	Kalar
<i>Balandānī</i>	<i>Phor</i>	Kandānī
<i>Baldānī</i>	<i>Ranjhānī</i>	<i>Ganāsai</i>
<i>Balkānī</i>	<i>Umrānī</i>	<i>Khārānī</i>
<i>Bēkarsai</i>	<i>Zharwāsai</i>	<i>Zarwārisai</i>
<i>Bōhri</i>	Bhaṇḍ	Lanjwānī
<i>Dohalyār</i>	<i>Fakirāsai</i>	Lāshārī
<i>Gōhargo</i>	Darkhānī	<i>Bhamiārnī</i>
<i>Guhrānī</i>	Dināri	<i>Brahmānī</i>
<i>Hājāniwālā</i>	Hājānah	<i>Galwānī</i>
<i>Hamlānī</i>	<i>Bagārsai</i>	<i>Hājwānī</i>
<i>Jamālī</i>	<i>Bārūsai</i>	<i>Hayātānī</i>
<i>Jamālsai</i>	<i>Gulābsai</i>	<i>Jabōnsai</i>
<i>Jatīānī</i>	<i>Mahwālānī</i>	<i>Jalālānī</i>
<i>Ladhānī</i>	<i>Shahdādsai</i>	<i>Kalānī</i>
<i>Lashkarānī</i>	Hējwānī	<i>Kaliānī</i>
<i>Muhammadānī</i>	<i>Shamsī Khānsai</i>	<i>Lahangānī</i>
<i>Rēkhāsai</i>	Hōtī	• <i>Mehr Mali</i>
<i>Samiānī</i>	<i>Bahādōrānī</i>	<i>Mendāra</i>
<i>Sullānsai</i>	Gishkōrī	<i>Mūsānī</i>
<i>Bahārānī</i>	<i>Panjānī</i>	<i>Nuwābānī</i>
(Bahrānī, Barānā, Isāzai		<i>Pērōssai</i>
Brāhānī)	Jaland	<i>Sādqānī</i>
<i>Bakwānī</i>	<i>Langērsai</i>	<i>Sārangānī</i>

<i>Yārānṛin</i>	<i>Kēchiānī</i>	<i>Umarzai</i>
Majidānī	<i>Misriānī</i>	Phul Pōtrā
<i>Bagrānṛin</i>	<i>Muchānī</i>	<i>Bārūsai</i>
<i>Gahānī</i>	<i>Pirizai</i>	Pusia
<i>Gaiyānī</i>	<i>Rāōchānī</i> or	<i>Ramsānsai</i>
<i>Musiānī</i>	<i>Rāōchī</i>	Rahmatzai
<i>Shukālānī</i>	<i>Rustumsai</i>	<i>Dōstōnsai</i>
Mir Jat	<i>Shātlānī</i>	<i>Ghulāmsai</i>
<i>Akrānī</i>	<i>Sidānī</i>	<i>Shakarzai</i>
<i>Bālāchānī</i>	Nigwārī	Siāhpād
<i>Bārūsai</i>	<i>Panjshambāsai</i>	Wajla
<i>Bhūchānī</i>	<i>Rahmatsai</i>	Wālwaṭ
<i>Blāḍi</i>	Panjānā	Zhang
<i>Dādānī</i>	Pērizai	<i>Nūrōzai</i>

Ethnography —

Baluchistan.

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